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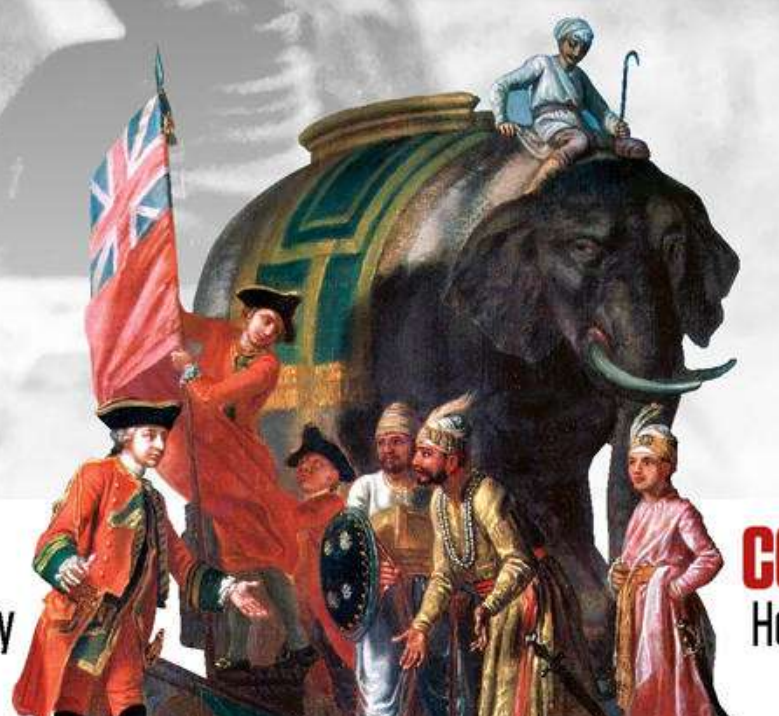
From fashion model to frontline photojournalist



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FUTURE
ISSUE 114

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SCAN TO GET OUR WEEKLY NEWSLETTER

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Above: Sturmabteilung troops, the precursor to the Schutzstaffel, march in Nuremberg

Welcome

In 1925 the Schutzstaffel was formed as Adolf Hitler's personal bodyguard, made up of his most loyal and fanatical followers. Before long the group was tasked with carrying out the Nazi Party's most heinous and brutal policies across Europe and beyond, with the Waffen-SS serving as the supposed 'elite' combat arm. By late 1944, with the Allies advancing in the East and West, the Waffen-SS found itself at the frontline of the Führer's final desperate attempts to salvage his Reich. This issue historian Anthony Tucker-Jones recounts the final desperate actions of the Waffen-SS, from their savagery in the Bulge to their fanatical final stand in Berlin.

Tim Williamson
Editor-in-Chief

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ANTHONY TUCKER-JONES

Anthony is a former defence intelligence officer, with multiple military history books published on topics varying from the Battle of Kursk to ISIS. On page 26 he details the final battles of the Waffen-SS, from the Battle of the Bulge to the fall of Berlin.

MARIANNA BUKOWSKI

Marianna is a Polish writer, researcher and documentary filmmaker. Over on page 42 she recounts the fascinating career of one of the Second World War's most iconic photojournalists, Lee Miller.

DR MARK GALEOTTI

Dr Galeotti is an honorary professor at University College London's School of Slavonic & East European Studies, and the author of *Putin's Wars*. On page 64 he lists five Russian history lessons the Kremlin should have learned, prior to its invasions of Ukraine in 2014 and 2022.

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A deadly RQ-2A drone

© Alamy

WAR in FOCUS

BATTLE OF JERSEY

1783

Painted by Anglo-American artist John Singleton Copley, *The Death of Major Peirson* is a large oil painting that depicts the demise of Major Francis Peirson at the Battle of Jersey. Fought on 6 January 1781 as part of the American Revolutionary War, the battle was the last French attempt to seize the island of Jersey in the English Channel. The French invaded with c.1,000 soldiers but Peirson and the British garrison refused to surrender. Peirson was killed but the British quickly defeated the French.

WAR in FOCUS

ACROSS THE DIVIDE

15 August 1941

Heinrich Himmler inspects a Soviet POW during an official visit to Shirokaya concentration camp in Minsk, Belarus. Shirokaya was a labour camp that held thousands of prisoners from the Red Army and the Minsk Ghetto. Himmler, who was the Nazi chief of police and head of the SS, is seen locking eyes with a Soviet prisoner who stares back with a defiant glare. On the same day, Himmler ordered 99 Jews to be executed to demonstrate his men's shooting technique. He was reportedly nauseated after witnessing the executions.

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WAR in FOCUS

‘OLD BALDY’

1952

United Nations soldiers dig into bunkers atop Hill 266 during the Korean War. The hill was the scene of five engagements between UN and Chinese troops over a 10-month period during 1952-53. The UN soldiers were mostly American, although there were also personnel from South Korea and Colombia. The Americans nicknamed Hill 266 ‘Old Baldy’ after heavy fire destroyed the trees on its crest. Both sides incurred heavy casualties during the five engagements, with the Chinese and UN controlling the hill at different points.

TIMELINE OF THE...

ANGLO-INDIAN WARS

Through its quasi-private military, the East India Company fights many wars with Indian rulers as it grows into a colonial powerhouse that establishes British rule on the subcontinent

1600-86

1686-90

1746-63

Mughal Emperor Jahangir receives EIC representative Sir Thomas Roe

MILITANT TRADE

An English (later British) joint-stock company, the East India Company (EIC) is formed to trade in the East Indies. It establishes trading posts on the Indian coast and recruits soldiers to secure its settlements from hostile locals and European rivals.

ANGLO-MUGHAL WAR 01

The first Anglo-Indian conflict on the subcontinent sees the EIC fighting the Mughal Empire, which had initially allowed the EIC to establish trading posts. The Company refuses to pay Mughal taxes, which results in naval blockades of its forts. The EIC is heavily fined by the Mughal emperor.

Aurangzeb defeats the EIC and is considered one of the most powerful Mughal emperors

CARNATIC WARS 02

Fought in the Carnatic coastal region of India, three conflicts form part of the wider Seven Years' War. The British and French East India Companies fight for dominance within Mughal territories, with the former emerging as the victor.

Joseph François Dupleix, Governor-General of French India, relieves the Siege of Pondicherry

Robert Clive meets Mir Jafar, a Bengalese general whose defection to the British makes it possible for them to win the Battle of Plassey

BATTLE OF PLASSEY 03

Robert Clive wins a decisive victory over the nawab of Bengal and his French allies. Despite being heavily outnumbered the EIC is aided by the defection of the nawab's commander-in-chief. Plassey enables the EIC to control Bengal and secure Company dominance in India.

Hector Munro becomes the ninth British commander-in-chief of Bengal after Buxar and later becomes the Member of Parliament for Inverness Burghs

BATTLE OF BUXAR 04

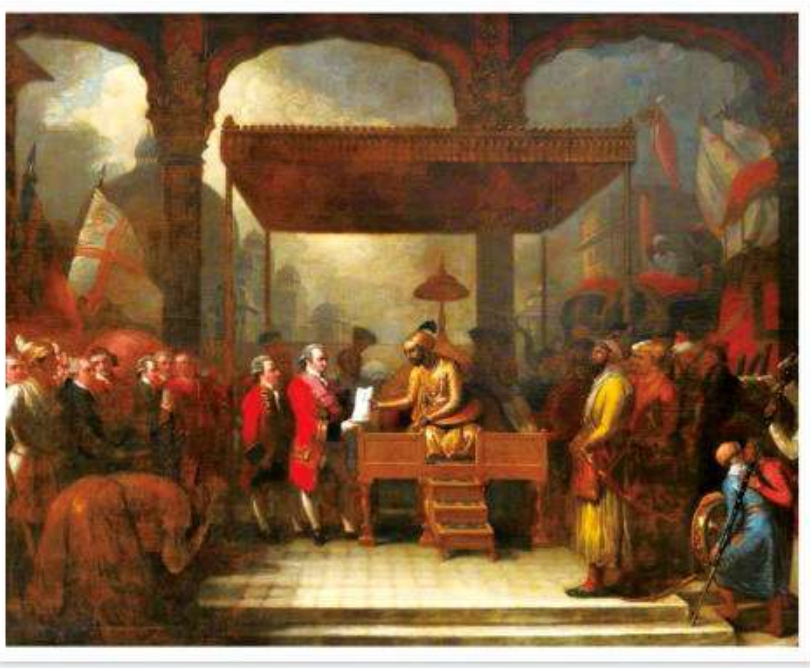
Sir Hector Munro defeats the combined armies of the nawabs of Bengal, Awadh, Oudh and Emperor Shah Alam II. Buxar reinforces British power in northern India and is sometimes considered a more important victory than Plassey.

23 June 1757

22 October 1764

1756-65

1766-99



BENGAL WAR

Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II aims to recapture the nawab (hereditary ruler) of Bengal from the EIC, but his forces are consistently defeated by the Company. Shah Alam eventually receives a pension from the British government.

Shah Alam II conveying the Grant of the Diwani to EIC's Robert Clive

ANGLO-MYSORE WARS

The EIC fights the Sultanate of Mysore across four wars with assistance from three Indian powers, including the kingdoms of Travancore and Hyderabad. Mysore fights the conflicts on four fronts until it is defeated and dismantled by the Company.

An Indian depiction of a demon attacking a fort defended by British troops

Images © Alamy

BATTLE OF MIANI 07

BATTLE OF PLASSEY 03

GWALIOR CAMPAIGN 08

BATTLE OF ASSAYE 06

ANGLO-MUGHAL WAR 01

BATTLE OF BUXAR 04

CARNATIC WARS 02

SIEGE OF SERINGAPATAM 05

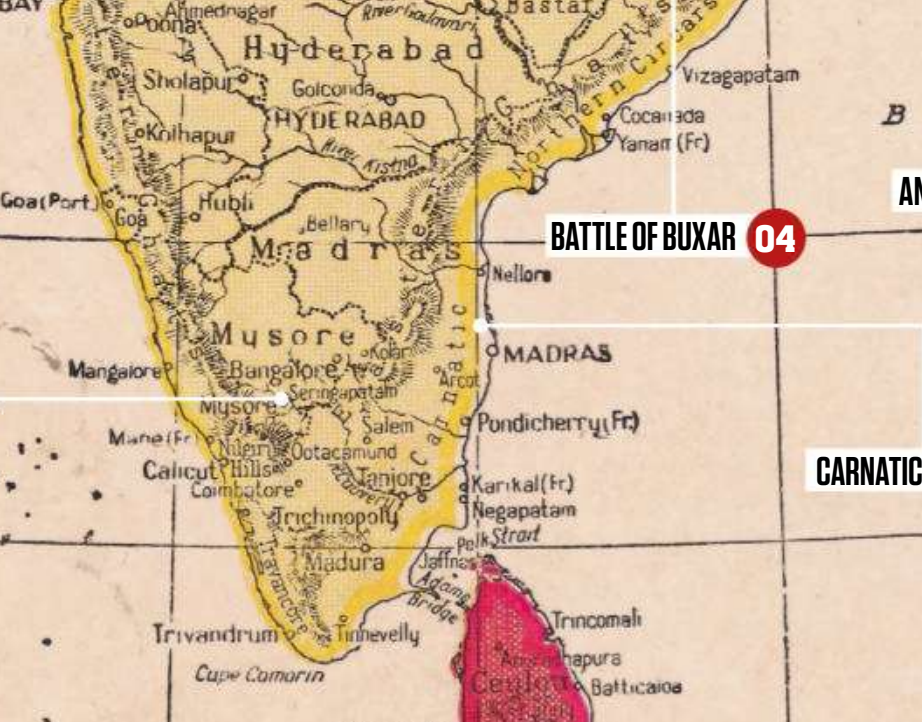
1774 – 1858

PRESIDENCY ARMIES

The EIC creates three armies based on the ‘presidencies’ (provinces) that it controls: Bengal, Madras and Bombay. They are controlled by the Company until after the India Rebellion of 1857 when they come under direct Crown control.

Indian Sepoy soldiers of the East India Company’s Bengal Army, c.1785

1775 – 1818



ANGLO-MARATHA WARS

Across three conflicts, the EIC fights the large Maratha Empire that dominates much of India. The Marathas win the first war but lose the following two. The wars eventually result in the EIC taking over all Maratha territory.

Lieutenant Colonel Maitland leads an assault at the Siege of Bharatpur

ANGLO-SIKH WARS

The EIC fights two wars in the Punjab against the Sikh Empire. The Sikhs fight bitter battles against the Company but the Punjab is fully annexed. The Sikhs are the last powers who are able to challenge EIC – and therefore British – control of India.

The charge of the British 16th Lancers at the Battle of Aliwal, 28 January 1846

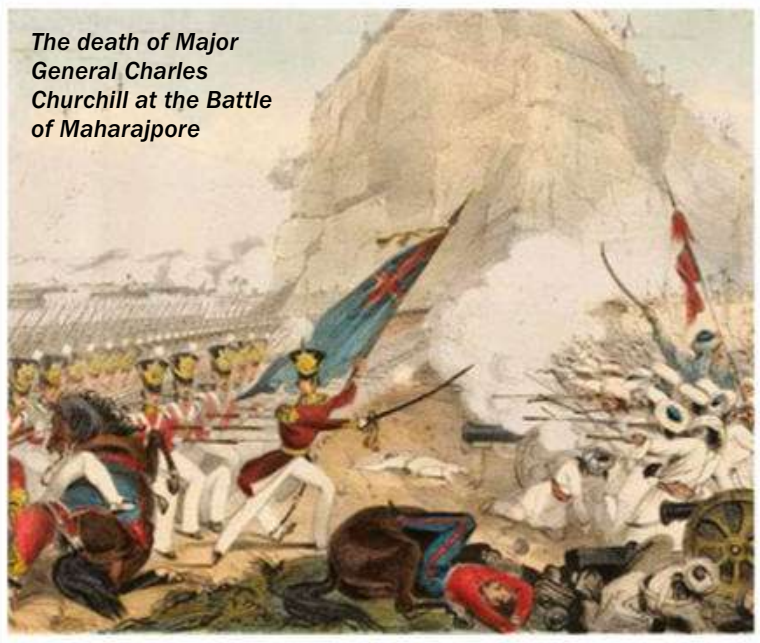
BATTLE OF ASSAYE 06

The future Duke of Wellington, Major General Arthur Wellesley, wins his first major victory during the Second Anglo-Maratha War against the Marathas. He later describes Assaye as "the bloodiest [battle] for the numbers that I ever saw".

Despite his famous successes against Napoleonic France, Wellington considered Assaye to be his finest victory

GWALIOR CAMPAIGN 08

In two battles at Maharajpore and Punniar, British soldiers defeat the last remnants of the Maratha Empire in its last state of Gwalior in central India. The British disband the Maratha army and install a force based at Gwalior Fort.



The death of Major General Charles Churchill at the Battle of Maharajpore

5 April – 4 May 1799 | 23 September 1803 | 17 February 1843 | December 1843 – 1845-49

SIEGE OF SERINGAPATAM 05

A combined EIC and Hyderabad force end the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War when they storm Seringapatam. Tipu Sultan, the de facto ruler of Mysore, is killed in action, with the siege becoming a famous chapter in British military history.

General Sir David Baird discovers the body of Tipu Sultan after the storming of Seringapatam

BATTLE OF MIANI 07

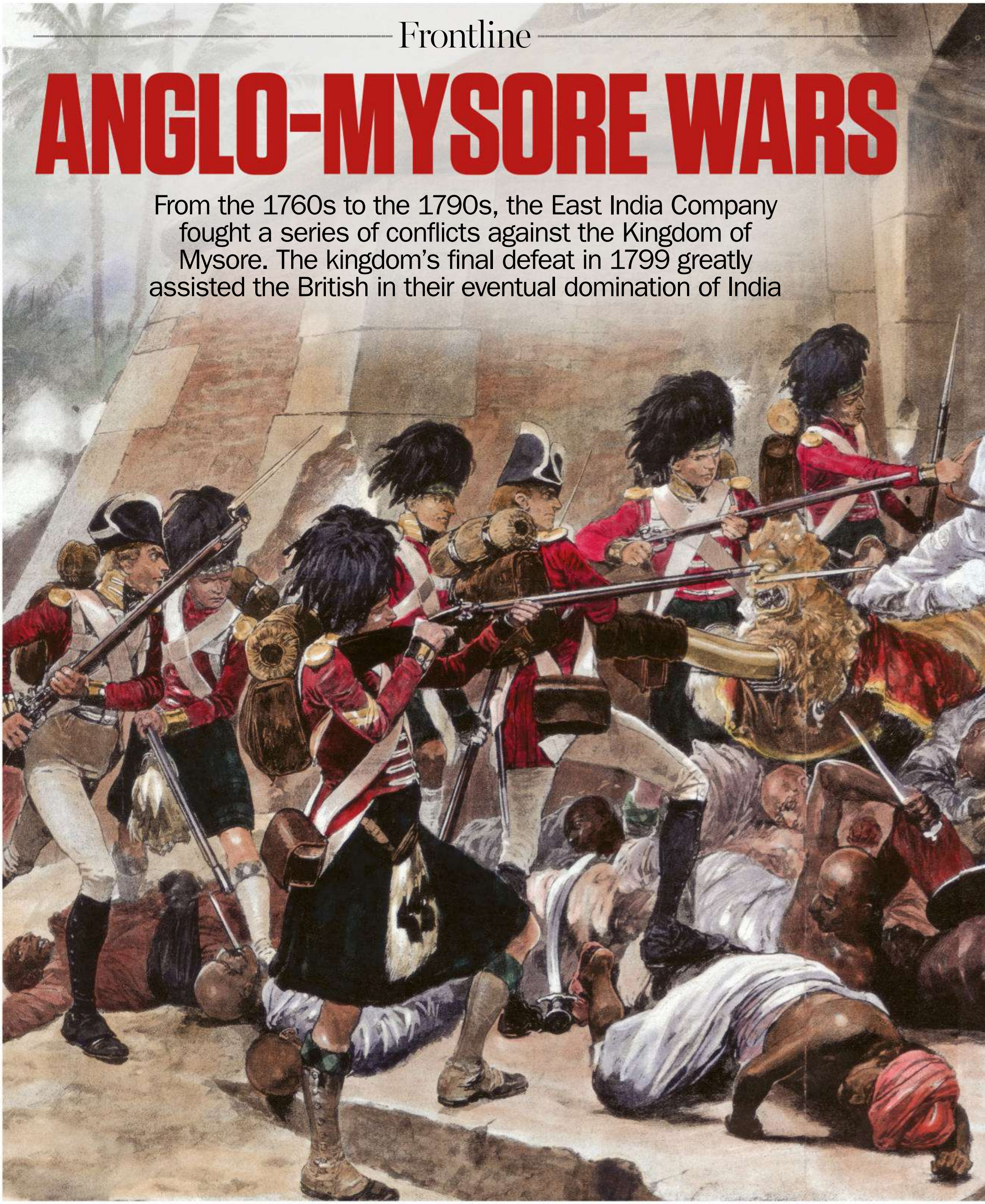
Sir Charles Napier's EIC Bombay Army of 2,800 soldiers defeat 30,000 Talpurs at the village of Miani. The victory enables the Company to control parts of Sindh, which is the first territory it controls in modern Pakistan.

A depiction of the Battle of Miani by British Victorian painter Edward Armitage

Images © Alamy, Getty

ANGLO-MYSORE WARS

From the 1760s to the 1790s, the East India Company fought a series of conflicts against the Kingdom of Mysore. The kingdom's final defeat in 1799 greatly assisted the British in their eventual domination of India



Hyder Ali was a Mysorean soldier, who rose to prominence as a military leader. As commander-in-chief he created a modern army and equipped and trained it along European lines, with assistance from the French, which would later pose a significant threat to the British. As William Dalrymple writes in *The Anarchy*: "Having learned modern infantry warfare by observing French tactics, he offered strong resistance to the East India Company, gaining his most notable victory… at Pollilur in 1780."

It would be around 1761 that Ali became de facto leader of Mysore. He would conquer Bednore and Kanara, as well as the petty feudal chiefs in southern India. His expansionism worried Asaf Jah II, the nizam of Hyderabad, and Madhavrao I, the peshwa of the Maratha Empire. Ali's involvement with the French equally alarmed the British.

In 1766, the nizam joined the British in a war against Ali, the British seeking territorial concessions in exchange for their help. However, following their invasion of Mysorean territory, Ali was able to persuade the nizam to defect to his side while the Marathas adopted a neutral stance.

Now facing Ali alone, the war went badly for the British and Madras itself became threatened. This forced the British to seek a negotiated peace, resulting in the Treaty of Madras on 4 April 1769.

Second Anglo-Mysore War

Renewed conflict between the East India Company (EIC) and Mysore flared up in 1780. Mysore had continued to be involved with the French, and the American Revolutionary War brought matters to a head for the British in India.

Again, Ali and his army performed well against the British, the latter suffering loss of territory. While they would regain some of their lost land, the war would widen following Britain's declaration of war against the Dutch. Ali died in December 1782 and was succeeded by Tipu Sultan.

With the conclusion of the American war, the French ended their military support for Tipu. Again, the British sought to end the war with negotiations, and the following year the Treaty of Mangalore was signed on 11 March. According to the text of the treaty, both sides effectively agreed to restore each other's territory to the status quo ante bellum.

The British had performed badly on the battlefield. As the historian Lawrence James writes in his book *Raj*: "British prestige soared every time the Company's army beat a native one. If, for some reason, British forces were overcome or forced to retire, Britain's standing was diminished throughout India. Reverses suffered at the hands of Haidar Ali during the 1780-84 Mysore war severely tarnished the Company's reputation."

Third Anglo-Mysore War

While the First and Second Mysore Wars had not gone well for the British, the Third in the series would end in their victory. This latest conflict was sparked when Tipu invaded Travancore in 1789, a kingdom he had long had his eye on. Unfortunately for Tipu, the invasion did not go well and his army suffered a serious defeat at the hands of Raja Kesavadas, a dewan of Travancore.

The British viewed Travancore as an ally and were angered by Tipu's resurgence. As James notes, when it was discovered Tipu was acquiring French weapons via Dutch arms dealers: "Details of their shopping list were discovered by Admiralty Intelligence. This information confirmed what was well known from other sources: Tipu was bent on a new trial of strength with the Company which, if he triumphed, would restore the boundaries and fortunes of Mysore."

British forces were initially led by William Medows, but Charles Cornwallis, the governor-general of the Presidency of Fort William, felt him a weak commander and so personally assumed command. The war dragged on for three years, during which Tipu would unsuccessfully attempt to get France to enter the fray on his side.

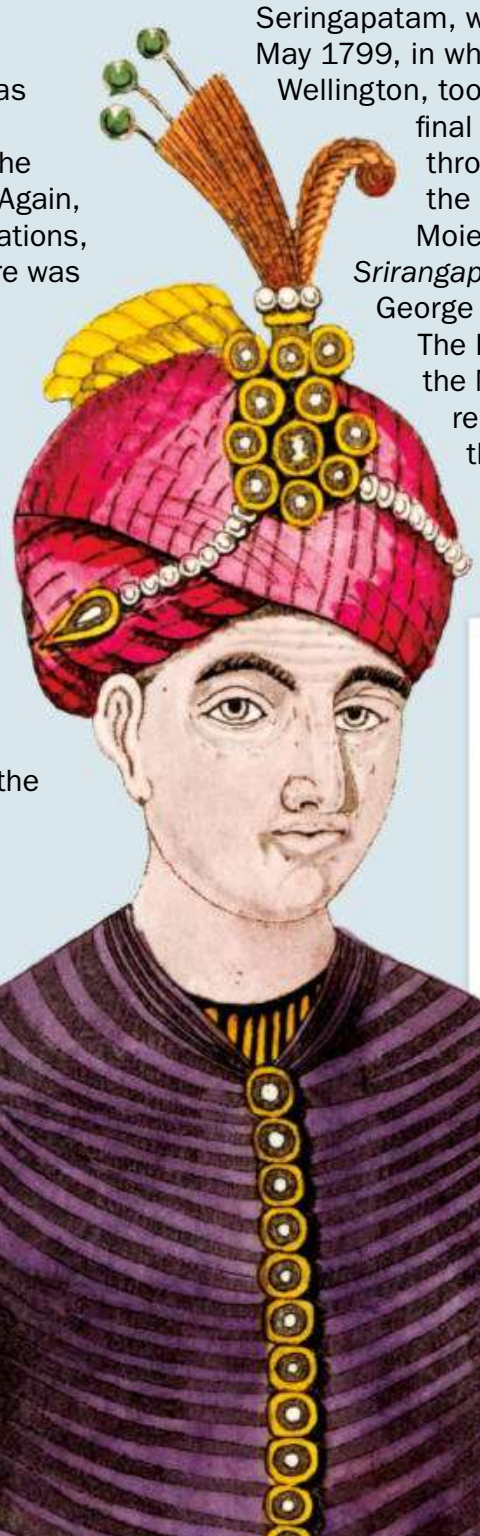
The conflict ended following the Siege of Seringapatam (5 February – 18 March 1792), in which the British were joined by armies from the Maratha Empire and the nizam of Hyderabad. Tipu eventually capitulated and the Treaty of Seringapatam was signed on 18 March 1792. Under the terms of the treaty, Mysore was forced to cede half its territory to the other signatories.

Fourth Anglo-Mysore War

The final Anglo-Mysore conflict began in 1798. Tipu had continued his alliance with France, which the British, once again at war with the French, considered unacceptable. Again, Mysore was attacked not only by the British but also by the armies of the nizam of Hyderabad and the Marathas.

The decisive victory of the war again came at Seringapatam, which was besieged from 5 April to 4 May 1799, in which Arthur Wellesley, the future duke of Wellington, took part. Tipu himself was killed on the final day of the siege as British forces broke through the city's walls. With his death came the effective end the war. As Mohammad Moienuddin wrote in his book *Sunset at Srirangapatam*, the death of Tipu prompted General George Harris to remark: "Now India is ours."

The British and their allies annexed much of the Mysorean territory. However, some territory remained and was given over to a prince of the Wodeyar dynasty, a dynasty that had once ruled Mysore before Ali. This tiny state of Mysore would endure until Indian Independence in 1947.



***Left:** Richard Caton Woodville Jr's depiction of the 1799 storming of Seringapatam in which Tipu Sultan was killed*

***Right:** Hyder Ali, commander of the Mysorean forces, created a modern army that put up fierce resistance to the East India Company*

***Above:** Tipu Sultan was known as the Tiger of Mysore. This automaton, containing an organ, depicts a tiger mauling a British soldier*

Images © Alamy, Getty

ANGLO-MARATHA WARS

This series of conflicts between the British East India Company and the Maratha Confederacy stretched over 40 years. The eventual destruction of the Confederacy helped Britain tighten its grip on the Indian subcontinent

When Madhav Rao I died in 1772, he was succeeded as peshwa of the Maratha Confederacy by his brother Narayan Rao. His reign ended abruptly the following year when he was murdered and was in turn succeeded by his uncle Raghunath Rao. Unfortunately for Raghunath, Narayan's wife was pregnant when her husband died and subsequently gave birth to a son also called Madhav Rao. Nana Fadnavis, a Maratha chief, saw the young Madhav Rao as the rightful peshwa, and Nana wanted to act as his chief regent.

Raghunath Rao did not like the idea of being deposed and looked towards the British at Bombay for help, signing the Treaty of Surat on 6 March 1775. The British received territory and revenues, and in return they promised military support. Unfortunately for the desperate peshwa, the Supreme Council of Bengal at Calcutta, the highest British authority in India at the time, objected to the treaty and replaced it with the Treaty of Purandhar in March 1776. Raghunath Rao was forced to abandon his claim as peshwa and left to live under the protection of the British. Nana, meanwhile, fatefully upset the British when he allowed the French the use of a port on the west coast.

Hostilities between the Marathas and British broke out but the latter suffered defeat at the Battle of Wadgaon (12-13 January 1779). Nevertheless, the British fought on until May 1782, finally agreeing the Treaty of Salbai, which restored the status quo ante bellum.

Second Anglo-Maratha War

Peace between the Marathas and British endured until the second war broke out in 1803. Baji Rao, the son of Raghunath Rao, allied himself with the Scindia of Gwalior and clashed with the forces of Yashwantrao Holkar, ruler of Indore, at the Battle of Poona on 25 October 1802. Baji Rao was defeated and subsequently fled to the British, with whom he signed the Treaty of Bassein in December. The terms of the treaty ceded territory to the British, who promised to station a military force with the peshwa.

To Baji Rao's chagrin, some of the Maratha chiefs, in particular the Scindia and Bhonsale, were opposed to this latest agreement with the British, and what became known as the Second Anglo-Maratha War began.

"RAGHUNATH RAO DID NOT LIKE THE IDEA OF BEING DEPOSED AND LOOKED TOWARDS THE BRITISH AT BOMBAY FOR HELP"

On 8 August 1803, Arthur Wellesley took the fortified town Pettah of Ahmednagar, and its adjacent fort surrendered several days later. On 11 September, the Marathas were defeated by Gerard Lake at the Battle of Delhi, and again on 23 September by Wellesley at the Battle of Assaye. Yet another defeat was suffered by the Marathas on 21 October when the Asirgarh Fort fell, and this was followed by British victories at the Battles of Laswari (1 November) and Argaon (29 November.)

Following these defeats, the Bhonsale of Nagpur signed the Treaty of Deogaon with the British on 17 December, while the Scindia signed the Treaty of Surji-Anjangaon on the 30th, both ceding territory to the British. The British then clashed with Yashwantrao Holkar in April the following year, who was eventually forced to agree the Treaty of Rajghat, which was signed on 24 December 1805. The second conflict was at an end, with much territory ceded to the British.

The end of the Second Anglo-Maratha War also saw the decline of French influence in India. As historian William Dalrymple writes of Wellesley's campaign in his book *The Anarchy*: "By this time [1803] he had expelled the last French units from India and given the East India Company control of most of the subcontinent south of the Punjab."

Third Anglo-Maratha War

The final conflict came in 1817 and began when Lord Hastings, the British governor-general of India since 1813, launched military operations against the Pindaris, who had conducted raids against EIC interests. In response to British actions, the Maratha rulers of Pune, Nagpur and Indore revolted against them. The Scindia of Gwalior, however, decided to remain neutral following talks with the British.

The war went well for the British, who soon defeated their Maratha opponents and captured Baji Rao II. Much Maratha territory was annexed by the Bombay Presidency, while other smaller kingdoms – such as Indore, Gwalior, Nagpur and Jhansi – were allowed to become princely states, albeit under heavy British influence. The British now controlled the vast majority of territory in India south of the Sutlej River.

***Left:** British forces, led by Arthur Wellesley, defeated the Marathas at the Battle of Assaye on 23 September 1803*

***Below:** Maratha leaders depicted surrendering to the British in 1818*

Images © Alamy

COMPANY ARMIES

The East India Company's formidable private armies were vital to the expansion of British interests in the subcontinent

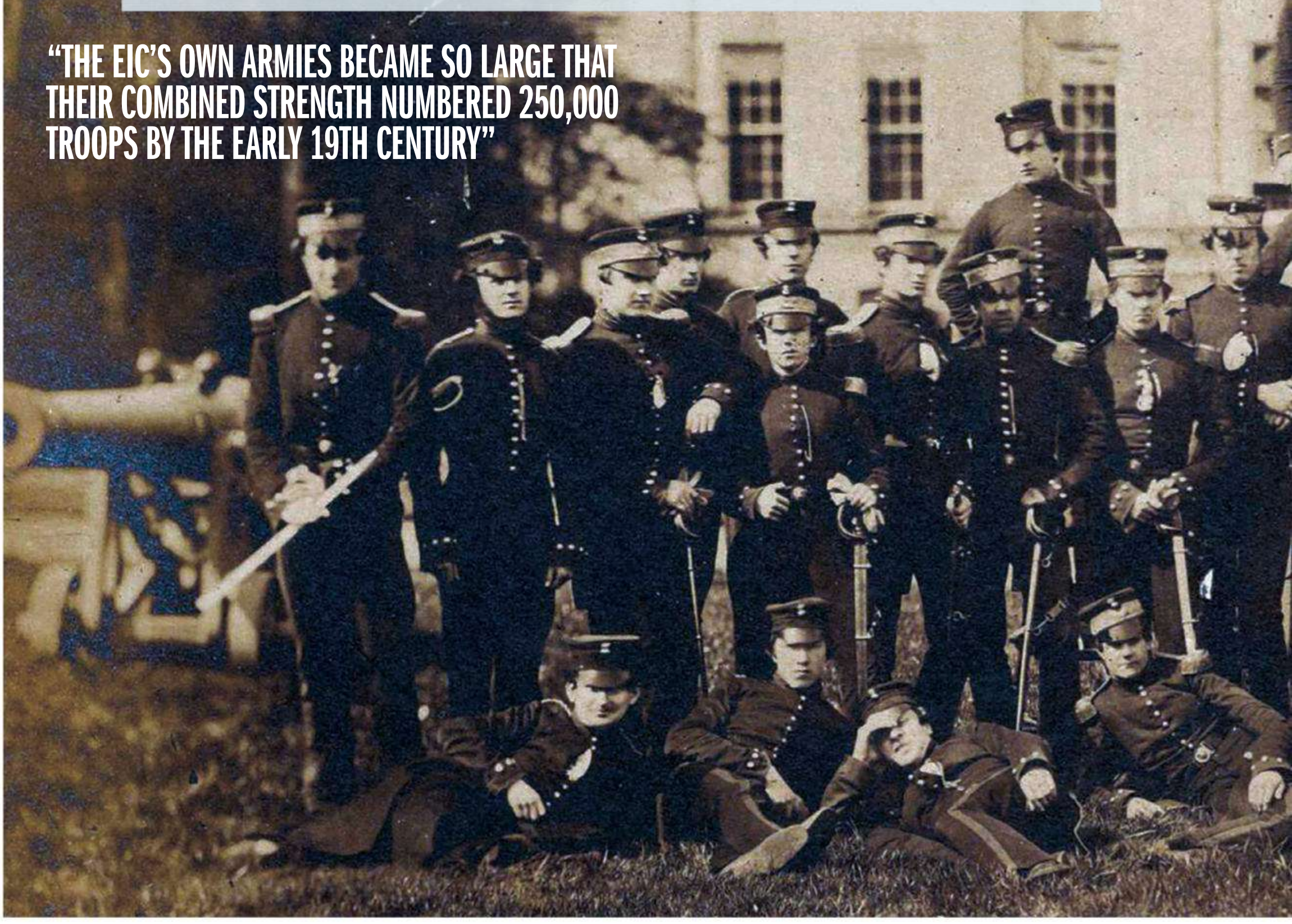
When a group of merchants and explorers met in London to form the East India Company (EIC) in 1600 they couldn't have conceived it would eventually own one of the largest private military forces in colonial history. The EIC was founded to trade in Asian goods and produce and it created trading posts along the Indian coastline during the 17th century. It prospered by buying land from local rulers, and such was the EIC's success that guards were employed to protect its trading posts and factories.

Company lands became so extensive that these territories were named 'Presidencies' and included large 'Presidency Towns' such as Madras (Chennai), Bombay (Mumbai) and Calcutta (Kolkata). At first, the EIC had the consent to trade by the Mughal and Maratha Empires but the Presidencies became so large that several armies were formed to defend Company interests in India.

The trading post guards were eventually placed under one military commander – Major General Stringer Lawrence – in 1748. They were primarily composed of Indian 'sepoys' (infantrymen) who were led by European (primarily British) officers. Each EIC Presidency had its own armed forces, which led to the creation of the Bengal, Madras and Bombay Armies. A pioneer of these units was Robert Clive, who suggested that the Bengal Army have sepoys who were dressed and trained the same as regular British redcoats.

The EIC armies benefitted from European training and weapons as well as detachments from the British Army. Under Clive's command, the Bengal Army won a decisive victory at the Battle of Plassey in 1757 against the nawab of Bengal and his French allies. Despite being heavily outnumbered, Plassey enabled the EIC to annex Bengal and laid the foundations for the Company to seize control over most of India.

"THE EIC'S OWN ARMIES BECAME SO LARGE THAT THEIR COMBINED STRENGTH NUMBERED 250,000 TROOPS BY THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY"



Colonial power

Thanks to its armies, the EIC was now much more than a trading company and it became a colonial administrator in India on behalf of the British government. The relationship between the British Army and its EIC counterparts was technically separate but they heavily intermingled. British Army regiments were stationed in India from 1753 with their officers often commanding Company soldiers. This included Arthur Wellesley, the future duke of Wellington.

It was the Company, rather the British government, that paid for regular army regiments to be deployed in India and they were contracted for 20-year tours to guarantee security in the territories under EIC control. From 1809 there was even a Company training academy in Surrey called Addiscombe Military Seminary. Serving as a counterpart to the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, Addiscombe taught cadets both soldiering and Indian languages.

The EIC's own armies became so large that their combined strength numbered 250,000 troops by the early 19th century, with the Bengal Army being the most powerful. Company forces were much bigger than the actual British Army, with their numbers being bolstered by the presence of many sepoys.

Although the EIC existed to make profits for its British stakeholders, it was canny enough to recruit sepoys into its armies by respecting Indian military traditions. In addition, sepoys were well paid in comparison to the armed forces of local rulers and Company service was considered an honourable profession by many (but certainly not all) Indians.

Nabobs and cartridges

The Presidency armies were rich and powerful and by the 1850s the EIC governed the majority of India. However, from the beginning of its military dominance, the Company was dogged by corruption. From the 1750s, commanders like Clive were given the nickname 'nabob', which described Company men who made huge personal fortunes in India at the expense of the Indians themselves. Although the British government publicly criticised the nabobs, their protests were tempered by the vast revenues the Company contributed to the Treasury.

EIC mismanagement of governing colonial India went virtually unchecked for a century until the Indian Rebellion of 1857-59 almost destroyed British power in the subcontinent. Beginning in the Bengal Army, the rebellion arose from the EIC's mistreatment of sepoys. This included a lack of opportunities, a decline in pay and the racist attitudes of British officers. Such was the insensitivity of the Company that it had introduced rifle cartridges greased in cow and pig fat, angering both Hindu and Muslim soldiers.

Hundreds of thousands of people were killed in the ensuing rebellion, which shook the British government's colonial policy to the core. The EIC was dissolved and Company rule in India passed directly to the Crown, which began the era of the British Raj. What remained of the Company's armed forces was divided, restructured and transferred into the British Army and what became the Indian Army. The EIC was liquidated in disgrace but there is no doubt that its armies were crucial in establishing British rule in India – a situation that would last until 1947.

A class photograph of Company cadets at Addiscombe Military Seminary in 1857

Image © Alamy

Henry Martens' painting of British and Indian troops at Multan during the Second Anglo-Sikh War

ANGLO-SIKH WARS

Between 1845-46 and 1848-49 two conflicts were fought between the forces of the East India Company, supported by troops from the British Army, and those of the Sikh Empire in the Punjab

Both the 1845-46 and 1848-49 wars, waged by the East India Company (EIC), ended in Sikh defeat and partial subjugation followed by full annexation of Sikh territory. In the aftermath of the second conflict, it also brought the British into contact with the Pashtun tribes of the North West Frontier, which the British were to contend with for the next century.

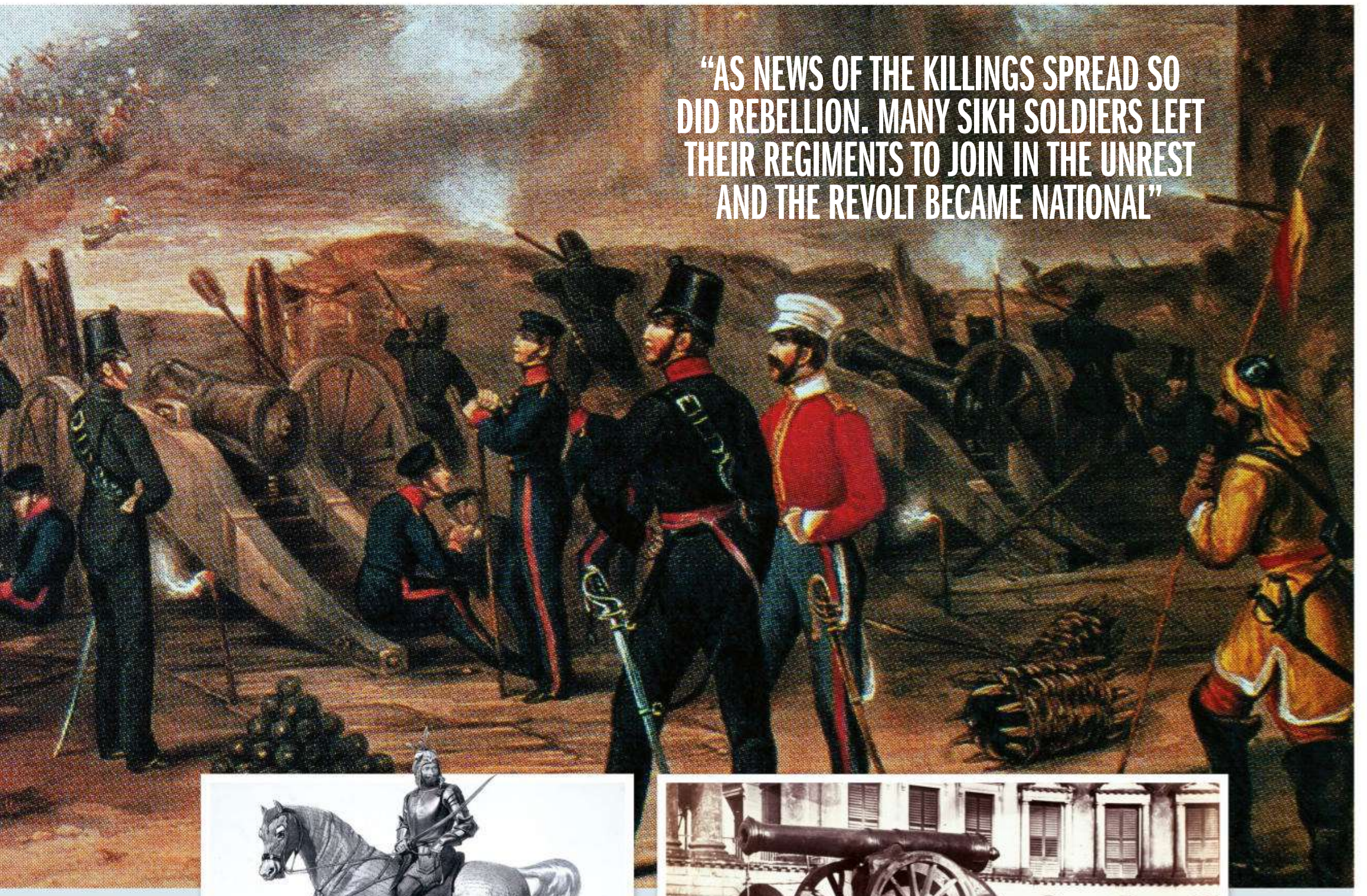
During the early 19th century the Sikh Empire, under the leadership of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, had maintained civil relations with the British. Nevertheless, the Sikh ruler established a strong army to safeguard Sikh territory from the dual threats posed by the Afghans and Pasthun tribesmen, as well as from any potential territorial expansion of the British. The Sikh army was equipped and trained along European lines, and thus presented a formidable foe to its enemies.

When Ranjit Singh died in 1839, a period of political instability followed, with successive rulers dying in suspicious circumstances. Several factions emerged vying for power, while the Sikh army expanded rapidly in size – from 29,000 in 1839 to 80,000 by 1845.

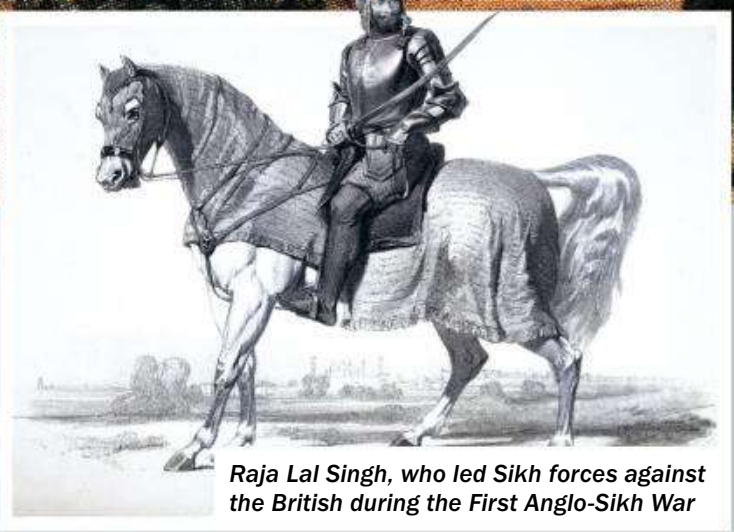
What followed was more political upheaval. Watching these affairs were the British, who were concerned by the powerful Sikh military and the ongoing political turmoil, but saw opportunity for expansion. The British annexed Sindh in 1843 and built up their military forces near the Sikh border. Tensions between the two began to rise.

Affairs came to a head in 1845 when a British force under the command of Sir Hugh Gough began moving to Ferozepur, where the British had established a military cantonment. In response, the Sikh army, under the command of Raja Lal Singh (who, as author Amarpal Singh points out in his book *The First Anglo-Sikh War*, would betray his own people by supplying information to the British), crossed the Sutlej River in December, which the British viewed as a hostile act. The First Anglo-Sikh War began on 11 December.

The conflict saw more than half-a-dozen actions being fought between the two belligerents. Principal among these were the Battle of Mudki (18 December 1845), the Battle



"AS NEWS OF THE KILLINGS SPREAD SO DID REBELLION. MANY SIKH SOLDIERS LEFT THEIR REGIMENTS TO JOIN IN THE UNREST AND THE REVOLT BECAME NATIONAL"



Raja Lal Singh, who led Sikh forces against the British during the First Anglo-Sikh War

A canon taken by the British at the Battle of Ferozeshah pictured at Government House, Calcutta

of Ferozeshah (21/22 December 1845), the Battle of Aliwal (28 January 1846) and the Battle of Sobraon (10 February 1846) – all of which ended in British victory.

Following their series of defeats, the Sikhs signed the Treaty of Lahore on 9 March 1846, which brought the war to an official end. Under the terms of the treaty, the Sikhs were forced to cede territory located between the Beas and Sutlej rivers. The territories of Kashmir and Jammu were also detached from the Sikh Empire, while their army was to be limited to 20,000 infantrymen and 12,000 cavalrymen, and a British resident installed at Lahore.

In 1848 a rebellion broke out in the city of Multan. The city was governed by Dewan Mulraj, who had fallen behind in his revenue payments to the British. Mulraj attempted to pass power to his son but the British wanted to replace him with Kahan Singh as governor and install Patrick Vans Agnew as political officer. Following his arrival at Multan, Vans Agnew and another British officer were murdered on 19 April 1848. As news of the killings spread so did rebellion. Many Sikh soldiers left their regiments to join in the unrest and the revolt became national.

Gough was once again to command British forces in what became the Second Anglo-Sikh War. However, he delayed taking action in order to build up adequate forces powerful enough to subjugate the entire Punjab, since the unrest had become so widespread. Major military operations began in November, although several actions were fought prior to this.

Notable engagements of the war included the Battle of Ramnagar (22 November 1848) and the Battle of Chillianwala (13 January 1849). Both went badly for the British, the latter resulting in particularly heavy casualties and a severe shock to British military prestige. However, the decisive action of the war came at the Battle of Gujrat (21 February 1849), in which Gough inflicted defeat on a Sikh army under the command of Sher Singh Attariwalla.

The Sikhs surrendered the following month, bringing the Second Anglo-Sikh War to an end. This time the British decided to annex the whole of the Punjab, the official annexation being proclaimed by Lord Dalhousie, the governor-general of India, on 29 March 1849. Despite the brutality of the fighting, the British held their Sikh opponents in high regard, with many Sikhs joining the armies of the EIC and later the British-Indian Army.

As Lawrence James writes in *Raj*: "The second Sikh War ended the process of piecemeal conquest which [Robert] Clive had begun; Britain now possessed the whole of India." Britain's grip on India was now complete.

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LAST STAND OF THE WAFFEN-SS

This famous image of an unknown German soldier was taken during the Nazi counter-offensive in the Ardennes

LAST STAND OF THE WAFFEN-SS

In the closing months of the war in Europe, the Waffen-SS fought desperately to secure Hitler victory. When they failed he disowned them

WORDS **ANTHONY TUCKER-JONES**

Outside the battered Reichstag the sound of artillery and small arms fire echoed across the ruins of the Königsplatz. The building shook as chunks of stone were torn off in great showers of debris. Inside cowered the remains of Heinrich Himmler's mighty Waffen-SS. How had his private army that once numbered almost 40 divisions been reduced to this? Hitler, in the closing months of World War II, vainly hoped that the Waffen-SS could turn the tide on both the Western and Eastern Fronts. Ever since the assassination attempt on his life on 20 July 1944 he had refused to trust the German armed forces – especially the army.

Instead Hitler put his faith in Himmler's Nazi fanatics and it was the SS who spearheaded his last two offensives. First in the Ardennes to halt the British and the Americans, and then in Hungary to stop the Soviets. These operations represented Hitler's last stand yet both were characterised by poor planning and political infighting. The result was defeat and Hitler angrily denounced the SS. It was only in the dying days of the Third Reich, as they fought to defend the Nazi capital, that Hitler found it in his suicidal heart to thank the SS.

Rejuvenated SS

The Allies became aware in late September 1944 that Hitler was withdrawing his armour from the Western Front to build up a very large panzer reserve. Intelligence indicated that the 1st SS Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler, 2nd SS Das Reich, 9th SS Hohenstaufen and 12th SS Hitlerjugend Panzer Divisions were being refitted for renewed combat. Most notably, the two SS Panzer Corps were swiftly rebuilt as the strike force of SS-Oberstgruppenführer Sepp Dietrich's new 6th Panzer Army. This was not officially designated an SS army until 1945 as it also included army divisions, but nevertheless led by the Waffen-SS was considered as such.

The two panzer divisions of SS-Gruppenführer Herman Priess' I SS Panzer Corps were each brought up to about 22,000 men; Leibstandarte was supplemented with Tiger II tanks of the 502 SS-Heavy Panzer Battalion and Hitlerjugend, now under SS-Brigadeführer Hugo Kraas, was rebuilt though lacked experienced junior officers. Das Reich, re-assigned to SS-Gruppenführer Heinz Lammerding, and Hohenstaufen re-assigned to SS-Brigadeführer Sylvester Stadler, of SS-Obergruppenführer Willi Bittrich's II SS

***Right:** Troops from Panzergrenadier-SS Kampfgruppe Hansen advance in Belgium, December 1944*

***Far right:** A Waffen SS Panzer IV advances through smoke, during campaigning on the Eastern Front, 1942*

Images © Alamy, Getty

Men from Kampfgruppe Peiper are pictured just 13km from Malmedy in Belgium during the Battle of the Bulge, December 1944

Panzer Corps, were similarly rebuilt with better than average recruits, though Hohenstaufen lacked transport.

Hitler's regenerated forces included Dietrich's 6th Panzer Army with a total of 450 tanks, assault guns and self-propelled guns and General Hasso von Manteuffel's 5th Panzer Army supported by about 350 armoured fighting vehicles. The 7th Army under General Erich Brandenberger only had a few battalions of tanks and assault guns. Antwerp was their goal: 6th Panzer Army was to breakout between Liège and Aachen and 5th Panzer Army between Namur and Liège. It was an all-or-nothing gamble.

Dietrich flabbergasted

Dietrich, who answered to Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt, Commander-in-Chief West, was flabbergasted at the scope of the operation. "Reach the [River] Meuse in two days, cross it, take Brussels, go on and then take Antwerp?" he exclaimed. "And this little programme is to be executed in the depths of winter in a region where… we will have snow up to our middles. Do you call that serious?" He hoped to reason with Hitler, but the Führer would not see him.

Dietrich was acutely aware that although the SS panzer divisions had been rebuilt they were not what they had once been, bitterly observing: "Out of all the original Adolf Hitler Division there are only 30 men who are not dead or prisoners." Hitlerjugend, after its losses in Normandy, was only able to field one mixed tank battalion for the offensive consisting of two companies of Panzer IVs and two companies of Panthers. The division also committed its two panzergrenadier regiments and its anti-tank battalion. Powerful Kampfgruppe Peiper, drawn from Leibstandarte, consisted of 100 Panzer IVs and Panthers, 42 formidable Tiger IIs and 25 assault guns.

"I RECEIVED FEW REPORTS FROM SEPP DIETRICH… AND WHAT I DID RECEIVE WAS GENERALLY A PACK OF LIES"

Kampfgruppen from Leibstandarte and Hitlerjugend conducted Dietrich's opening attacks to the north along the line St Vith-Vielsalm on 16 December 1944. They did so under dense cloud, avoiding the attentions of the Allies' fighter-bombers. One excited Leibstandarte tanker leant out of his turret and yelled cheekily to a comrade in a neighbouring panzer: "Goodbye, lieutenant, see you in America!" Another soldier rather optimistically shouted: "Wait till we get to Paris and all those sweet little French cheetahs."

Hitlerjugend failed to force the Americans from the Elsenborn Ridge and had to swing left. On the northern shoulder Hohenstaufen headed northward after breaking through the Losheim Gap; frustratingly only the artillery regiment and reconnaissance battalion were initially committed, though once St Vith was captured the rest of the division was brought up. On 18 December Hohenstaufen reached their official start line and fought their way toward Manhay and Trois Ponts before being replaced. They got as far as Salmchateau – less than halfway to the Meuse.

Blame the Waffen-SS

Failing to take Bastogne slowed Von Manteuffel's drive on the Meuse. St Vith fell on 21 December but American artillery fire forced Dietrich's and Von Manteuffel's divisions to become entangled. By 22 December Hohenstaufen was committed to the southern flank of Leibstandarte, but they

Right: Waffen-SS troopers enjoy a rare moment of rest during their last-ditch efforts to save the Third Reich from defeat

Far right, top: Despite inflicting heavy casualties on Allied forces in the Battle of the Bulge, the Germans were eventually driven back

Far right, bottom: Two SS men observe enemy movements during fighting against the Soviets in Estonia, June 1944

Soldiers from the 2nd SS-Panzer Division Das Reich walk past the burning wreckage of an American convoy near Manhay, Belgium

were unable to reach Kampfgruppe Peiper. His force was eventually surrounded and destroyed, leaving 45 tanks and 60 self-propelled guns north of the Amblève River. At the end of the month Hohenstaufen were replaced and moved south to help with the assault on Bastogne. However, once the weather cleared Allied aircraft began mercilessly attacking the exposed panzers.

Even in the face of defeat Das Reich continued to inflict heavy losses on the Americans. Just before Christmas Normandy veteran SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Langanke, taking his Panther tank into battle, recalled: “Thanks to our preparations we knocked out the first five Sherman tanks in quick succession despite the poor visibility… The firing distance between us was 500 and 700 metres.”

Time, though, was running out for the SS as the Americans relieved Bastogne on 26 December and launched a counterattack on 2 January 1945. Although their tanks were driven off their infantry broke through German positions, reaching Michamps. Hitlerjugend’s escort company and 1st Battalion, 12th SS-Panzer Regiment were sent to counterattack under the command of another Normandy veteran SS-Obersturmführer Rudolf von Ribbentrop. He recaptured Michamps and, along with the fighting at Arlencourt, Hitlerjugend accounted for 24 American tanks. They were then thrown at the north-eastern outskirts of Bastogne but the Americans turned back every attack. Shortly afterwards Hitlerjugend was withdrawn to Cologne. By now Hohenstaufen and Hitlerjugend only had 55 tanks left between them.

In the New Year Dietrich was dismayed that his SS divisions were handed over to Von Manteuffel to help take Bastogne. Initially Leibstandarte, then the whole of I SS Panzer Corps, were assigned to 5th Panzer Army. By 4 January 1945 Hohenstaufen had also been reassigned, leaving Dietrich with just Das Reich as his sole armoured unit. On 8 January Hitler finally ordered a partial withdrawal. By the end of the month his Ardennes bulge had vanished for the loss of 100,000 casualties and most of his armour; 5th and 6th Panzer Armies lost up to 600 tanks. Field Marshal von Rundstedt did all he could to blame the Waffen-SS: “I received few reports from Sepp Dietrich … and what I did receive was generally a pack of lies.”

This flag from an SS unit made up of volunteers from Norway was captured by US troops in Possenhofen, Germany, April 1945

Hungarian misadventure

Dietrich was summoned to Berlin in late January 1945, where he met General Heinz Guderian, Army Chief of Staff. They agreed that all available troops should be sent immediately to defend the Oder. The Red Army was already over the river at Wriezen near Küstrin, just 72km (45 miles) from Berlin. Yet Hitler had other plans for Dietrich and his panzers in Hungary. The Führer was convinced if Operation Spring Awakening

Images © Alamy, Getty

caught the Soviets by surprise, they could be driven back. He wanted to attack between Lake Balaton and Lake Velence to split Marshal Tolbukhin's 3rd Ukrainian Front in two.

Under Army Group South's direction the now officially dubbed 6th SS Panzer Army and 6th Army, supported by the Hungarian 3rd Army, were to attack, while the IV SS Panzer Corps, with 4th SS Totenkopf and 5th SS Wiking Divisions, held the Margarethe defences around Balaton. On paper 6th SS Panzer Army was still a formidable force, with Leibstandarte and Hitlerjugend grouped under I SS Panzer Corps, while Das Reich with Hohenstafen formed II SS Panzer Corps. In reality these units were exhausted.

On the morning of 6 March 1945 the 6th SS Panzer and 6th Armies struck Tolbukhin's defences after a 30-minute artillery bombardment. As planned, they launched a three-pronged assault, with 6th SS Panzer Army striking in a south-easterly direction between the lakes. The Hungarian plain between the northern extremity of Balaton and the Danube bisected by canals and drainage ditches was not good tank country. Dietrich was furious as he had given assurances that the ground in front of his two panzer corps was passable. Instead the mud claimed almost 150 panzers, which sank up to their turrets. The II SS Panzer Corps penetrated the Soviet defences to a depth of just 8km (five miles), while I SS Panzer Corps managed 40km (25 miles).

Das Reich joined the fight with its 250 panzers on 8 March 1945, followed by Hohenstaufen the next day, bringing the total of panzers committed to the battle up to 600. However, Dietrich was rapidly running out of time and resources. On 11 March he contacted Hitler's headquarters requesting permission to call off Spring Awakening; he repeated his request three days later. His pleas fell on deaf ears. Just as the Ardennes offensive wasted the last of Germany's military resources on the Western Front, so Spring Awakening wasted its remaining strength on the Eastern Front. By 15 March 1945 Dietrich had lost over 500 panzers and assault guns, 300 guns and 40,000 men trying to breach the Soviets' strong defences.

The Red Army launched its counterattack on 16 March along the entire front west of Budapest. Instead of throwing the Soviets back, 6th SS Panzer Army and 6th Army found themselves in danger of being cut off and a huge battle ebbed and flowed around Lake Balaton. In a repeat of the disaster at Stalingrad, Hitler's forces were once again let down by their allies. The inadequately equipped Hungarians on II SS Panzer Corps' left flank withdrew, with inevitable results.

There was nothing Dietrich could do to save the situation. "Up to this time the morale of the SS divisions had been

Left: *These captured SS men were suspected of killing Allied prisoners and slave labourers during the Battle of the Bulge*

Far left: *Soviet fighters fire a mortar during the final battle for Berlin, May 1945*

good but now it cracked," observed Guderian. "The panzer troops continued to fight bravely but whole SS units, taking advantage of the cover thus offered, proceeded to retreat against orders." Under pressure Leibstandarte gave ground. Six days after the Soviet counter-offensive commenced, with just a mile-wide escape corridor Dietrich was faced with complete encirclement south of Székesfehérvár. Four panzer divisions and an infantry division fought to keep the Soviet pincers apart and 6th SS Panzer Army only just escaped.

'Thanks for everything'

Hitler could not believe that Himmler's tough Waffen-SS had failed him during this last-ditch Hungarian campaign. "There could be no more reliance placed on such divisions," said Guderian. A furious Hitler declared: "If we lose the war, it will be his, Dietrich's fault." In a fit of further ingratitude, he ordered Guderian to fly to the front to instruct the exhausted troops of Leibstandarte, Das Reich, Totenkopf and Hohenstaufen to remove their SS arm-bands.

It is claimed that SS-Gruppenführer Hermann Fegelein urged Hitler to give the order to deliberately undermine Himmler's standing with the Waffen-SS. "Fegelein at the end made the most displeasing impression," said Guderian, who was appalled by Hitler's instructions and pointed out that the SS were under the jurisdiction of Himmler not the Wehrmacht. The spineless Himmler sent a message. Guderian noted: "Himmler did not win himself much love from the Waffen-SS over this affair."

Upon receiving the order Dietrich remarked with bitterness: "This is thanks for everything." He summoned his four divisional commanders and threw Hitler's message on the conference table, saying: "There's your reward for all that you have done the past five years." Dietrich instructed them not to pass the order on, but word of it quickly spread through the tattered ranks of his SS panzer divisions.

"ANGRY LEIBSTANDARTE OFFICERS ALSO SENT THEIR DECORATIONS BACK IN A CHAMBER-POT ALONG WITH A SEVERED ARM WEARING AN ADOLF HITLER ARM-BAND"

Removal of unit insignia was largely symbolic, as they had already been removed when 6th SS Panzer Army deployed secretly into Hungary. Nonetheless, Hitler's order was still seen as an insult by surviving SS veterans.

Dietrich's response was to inform Berlin that he would rather shoot himself than carry out the order. When he received no reply he reportedly sent all his decorations back to Hitler, though it is doubtful that the Führer, amidst all the chaos in Berlin, ever received them. As a result of this a subsequent rumour arose that angry Leibstandarte officers also sent their decorations back in a chamber-pot along with a severed arm wearing an Adolf Hitler arm-band. "6th SS Panzer Army is well-named, all right," lamented Dietrich bitterly. "It's only got six panzers."

Streets of Berlin

Members of the SS defended Berlin to the very last against the Red Army in April 1945. SS-Brigadeführer Wilhelm Mohnke with a rag-tag force of some 2,000 men found himself holding the central government district including the old Reichstag and Reich Chancellery buildings, beyond the latter lay the Führerbunker. Hitler's immediate body guard, some 30-strong, came under SS-Sturmbannführer Franz Schädle. The SS Hermann von Salza Battalion with a handful of Tiger IIs took up positions in the wooded Tiergarten in a desperate attempt to ward off Soviet tanks.

SS soldiers shown during the Nazis' doomed attempt to halt the Soviet advance in Hungary, 1945

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Images © Alamy, Getty

***Top:** Members of 1st SS Panzer Division Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler pictured in Hungary 1945*

***Above, left:** SS men move through the ruins of Narva in Estonia, April 1944*

***Above, right:** Two American servicemen guard a group of SS soldiers captured in Belgium, December 1944*

If Mohnke had time he would have reflected on his past glory days fighting with the Leibstandarte and Hitlerjugend divisions. Now he was witness to the final agonising collapse of the Waffen-SS. His men were far from the original elite SS, but rather a collection of units including Hitler's personal guard battalion from Leibstandarte, terrified Hitler Youth, despondent regular soldiers and Volkssturm home guard. He was ordered to fight to the death but only his few remaining hard-core German, Belgium, Danish, Dutch, French, Latvian, Spanish and Swedish Waffen-SS volunteers heeded such a pointless act of self-sacrifice.

Members of the French 33rd SS Charlemagne and Scandinavian 11th SS Nordland Divisions, under SS-Brigadeführer Gustav Krukenberg and SS-Brigadeführer Joachim Ziegler, rallied to the defence of Berlin. Also among the flotsam were several SS-companies of Spaniards under SS-Standartenführer Miguel Ezquerra, which were assigned to Nordland. When Krukenberg and a battalion of his men drove toward the city, Himmler passed by in his car without even acknowledging them. Such was his total disregard for these loyal foreign volunteers.

The III SS Panzer Corps, previously part SS-Obergruppenführer Felix Steiner's short-lived 11th SS Panzer Army, north of Berlin was supposed to fight its way to rescue the Führer. Before his death Hitler signalled: "Upon the successful conclusion of your mission depends the fate of the German capital." However, Steiner's command had the manpower of a single division and he refused to cooperate. "The plan of attack was based on facts that had no basis in reality, but only in the fantasies of the Chancellery," said Steiner. When pressed he explained: "I just don't have the troops. I don't have the slightest chance of succeeding." Instead Steiner ordered his men to withdraw toward the Elbe so they could surrender to the Americans and avoid Stalin's Gulag.

Hitler, in conference with his generals on 23 April 1945 stated: "I have no use for these dull, undecided SS leaders. In no circumstances whatever do I want Steiner to be in command." Once Hitler fully appreciated that neither Steiner's forces nor the exhausted German 9th and 12th armies, trapped to the south of Berlin, were coming he cried in rage: "It's all finished, everything, everything…"

The once impressive military might of the Waffen-SS did Himmler no good in the end either. Hitler declared him a traitor after he foolishly named himself successor. Stripped of his titles, he withdrew humiliated to Flensburg protected by just 150 loyal guards. SS-Gruppenführer Hermann Fegelein, Himmler's SS representative at the Führer's headquarters, was arrested and shot for desertion. Hitler's ranting moved Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels to write: "In general, the Führer is of the opinion that no high-class commander has emerged from the SS."

Last victory

Mohnke managed to give his demented Führer one final tiny victory on 27 April 1945 when his men bravely halted Soviet armour crossing the Potsdamer Platz. "Their

“LET ME SAY THAT YOUR TROOPS HAVE FOUGHT SPLENDIDLY AND I HAVE NO COMPLAINTS. WOULD THAT ALL THE OTHERS HAD FOUGHT AS TENACIOUSLY”

Adolf Hitler to Wilhelm Mohnke

tanks were highly unmanoeuvrable, blocked by rubble,” reported Mohnke, “and were sitting ducks in this classic street fighting situation.” Faced with this resistance, the Soviets simply withdrew and shelled the defenders into submission. Krukenberg established his headquarters at the Stadtmitte U-Bahn station, but he soon came to regret his decision. “On 27 April, a Russian artillery shell had exploded right in our midst in the station, killing four and wounding 15,” he said. The following day SS-Sturmbannführer Schädle was hit in the leg by shrapnel and his wound soon went gangrenous.

Inevitably Mohnke’s surviving SS were overwhelmed. The Red Army stormed the Reichstag and bludgeoned its way to within just a few blocks of the Chancellery. The latter was held by 700 members of the Leibstandarte guard force. Just to the north the Soviets reached the Hotel Adlon near the Wilhelm Strasse. By this stage most of the Tiergarten had been lost and the German positions on the Potsdamer Platz were almost completely surrounded. Only 17 French soldiers remained defending the Potsdamer railway station just south of the platz.

Mohnke received a phone call from SS-Unterscharführer Rochus Misch in the early hours of 30 April summoning him to see Hitler in the Führerbunker. “Unterscharführer, as an old Leibstandarte hand,” said Mohnke, “please tell me the unvarnished truth. What temper is the Führer in?” Misch responded: “Der Chef is now in a calm and relaxed mood. … Just a moment ago he said he wanted to have a talk with his old friend Mohnke.”

‘Fought splendidly’

As instructed, Mohnke reported to the Führer and laid out a map that showed what remained of the Third Reich. He explained: “In the north the Russians have moved close to the Weidendammer Bridge. In the east they are at the Lustgarten. In the south, at Potsdamer Platz and the Aviation Ministry. In the west they are in the Tiergarten, somewhere between 170 and 250 feet from the Reich Chancellery.”

Hitler nodded and asked how much longer the defence would last. “I no longer can guarantee that my exhausted, battle-weary troops can hold for more than one more day,” replied Mohnke. Despite this news, Hitler found it in his heart to finally compliment the performance of the Waffen-SS. “Let me say that your troops have fought splendidly,” he said, “and I have no complaints. Would that all the others had fought as tenaciously.” Hitler took his own life that day. Mohnke attempted to breakout with his men, only to be caught by the Soviets. Krukenberg was also captured, while Ziegler died of his wounds.

It was feared that the SS might fight on despite Germany’s surrender. Field Marshal Kesselring, the new Commander-in-Chief West, said: “I had advised SS General Hausser as my special representative to see to it that the surrender of the SS troops proceeded in exact observance of my directives; that – in a nutshell – no follies, such as escape into the mountains, should be committed at the last moment.” For good measure Kesselring signalled Dietrich at 1400 hours on 9 May 1945 stressing “the armistice terms are equally binding on the Waffen-SS”. Their last stand was over.

The SS were ordered by their superiors not to attempt “follies, such as escape into the mountains” when the Nazis surrendered

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Great Battles

CHANCELLORSVILLE

The rejuvenated Union Army of the Potomac was crushed in the dense woods of Northern Virginia as the brilliance of Robert E Lee delivered the 'perfect victory' for the Confederacy... but at a cost

WORDS **IAIN MACGREGOR**

By the spring of 1863, the American Civil War in the eastern theatre of Northern Virginia was in stalemate. Both sides had been busy rebuilding their forces in winter quarters since the bloodletting at the Battle of Fredericksburg the previous December. Since the beginning of the war itself, President Abraham Lincoln had been searching for a general who could effectively lead the enormous resources Washington would place under his command in terms of men and materiel. The industrial north had the resources to conduct and win a strategic war against the weaker agricultural-based southern rebel states, but what it repeatedly failed to do was defeat Robert E Lee's Army of Northern Virginia.

The Battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862 had been a bloody calamity for the north, with thousands needlessly killed as Union divisions marched up to entrenched Confederate positions above the Virginian town on Marye's Heights only to be mercilessly cut down by massed musketry and canon. Yet Lee's victory had not been turned into a strategic success and his exhausted forces failed to follow up with their own counterattack to finish off the enemy. Both sides now settled for a winter truce.

The Army of the Potomac had survived, but yet again was given a new commander. The hapless Ambrose Burnside, who had overseen the carnage, was replaced as he suggested his next move that spring of 1863 would follow the exact strategy that had brought disaster on the slopes of Marye's Heights. Two of his own corps commanders with political connections lobbied Washington for change. Aware of a lack of enthusiasm for his leadership, Burnside's

Union troops pictured loading cannons before the Battle of Chancellorsville

offer of resignation was readily accepted by Lincoln, who now installed one of the more outspoken officers who had lobbied against him – Major General Joseph Hooker.

Already a veteran of the battles of Bull Run, Antietam and Fredericksburg, Hooker believed he had the strategic nous to beat Lee's army and the resources to make it happen. It was here that alarm bells should have rung in the Whitehouse. Lincoln had given command of the Army of the Potomac to Hooker with the clear instructions for him to defeat Lee and protect Washington, but now looked on as that spring Hooker developed a plan to invade Virginia and capture Richmond, believing that would culminate in Lee being forced to give battle on Hooker's terms. Though a good organiser of commands – Hooker restructured the Army of the Potomac along the corps system that would remain throughout the war – events would prove he had been promoted above his ability as a frontline army commander.

Background

The fallout from Fredericksburg had forced Lincoln to quickly install yet another new commander of the Army of the Potomac in order to bring defeat upon the seemingly unbeatable Army of Northern Virginia. 'Fighting Joe' Hooker from Massachusetts, 48, was a hard-drinking, womanising general who had already been involved in many of the Army of the Potomac's defeats the previous year. Though severely bloodied at Fredericksburg, Hooker would still command a formidable force of 130,000 men, now encamped at Falmouth, Virginia, as they were resupplied. By April, he had successfully reorganised the unwieldy Grand Division structure to a more sensible corps formation, with an independent cavalry wing. Just as significantly, he improved his men's morale, having them adopt specific insignia for their units, improving supplies, implementing more drilling and reinvigorating the Army of the Potomac esprit de corps.

"'FIGHTING JOE' HOOKER WAS A HARD-DRINKING, WOMANISING GENERAL WHO'D ALREADY BEEN INVOLVED IN MANY PREVIOUS DEFEATS"

He realised that to bring Lee to battle on ground of his choosing he must first threaten the Confederate capital, Richmond. On 27 April, 10,000 Union horse crossed the Rappahannock River upstream, then swung around Lee's rear and attacked his supply lines. At the same time another corps crossed downstream, while three more corps of infantry crossed the Rappahannock and Rapidan rivers and marched as planned toward the hamlet of Chancellorsville to the west – a large brick mansion, sited at a crossroads in a clearing.

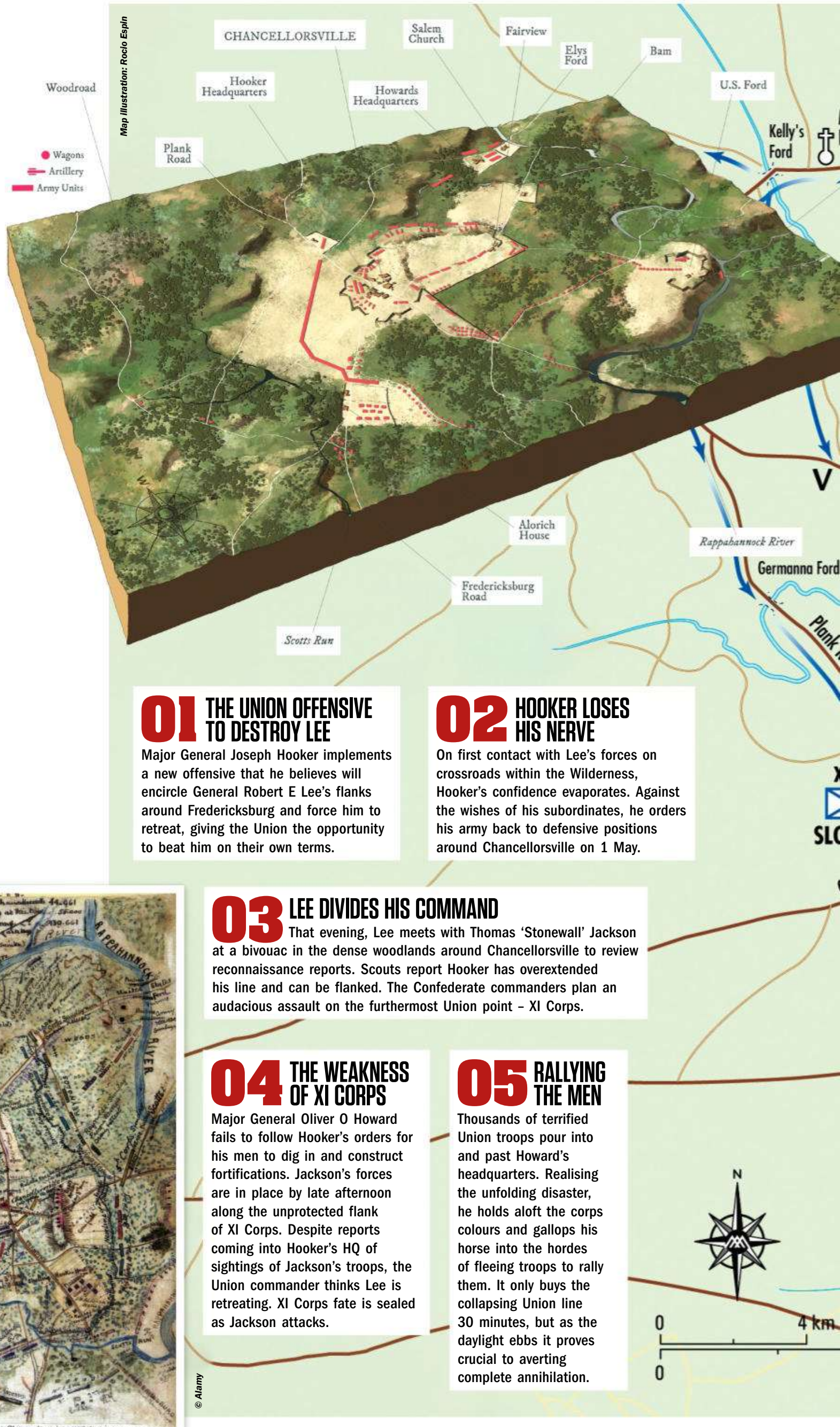
By 1 May, Hooker had over 70,000 troops situated around Chancellorsville awaiting what he was sure would either be a doomed Confederate frontal assault, or their withdrawal.

Lee had uncharacteristically been taken by surprise, but realising the enemy troops at Chancellorsville were the immediate threat he gambled and divided his smaller force to attack a portion of the Union army before it had time to gather itself. Leaving a much smaller force of 11,000 men still situated above Fredericksburg to hold in place Union forces, Lee was strengthened by Major General 'Stonewall' Jackson's corps and thus marched to Chancellorsville with at least 40,000 troops – still far fewer than the bulk of Union troops awaiting them.

The battle begins

The battle began mid-morning on 1 May as Hooker's columns advanced to capture a strategic crossroads, unaware that Stonewall Jackson's forces were there too. The fighting was fairly even, yet Hooker became anxious. The realisation that his enemy had not retreated from such superior forces and instead wished to fight had spoiled his strategy and shaken his confidence. Against the wishes of his corps commanders, he ordered Union troops back behind their original fortifications, not only giving up valuable high ground but also handing the initiative back to Lee.

The Union army was now stretched out for several kilometres, anchored on the left flank by the Rappahannock River to the east, with strong fortifications in the centre; right on the farthest point, surrounded by thick woods, was XI Corps led by Major General Oliver Howard. Such was Howard's belief in his natural defences that he'd shied away from Hooker's general order for all corps commanders to construct fortifications; it would be his downfall.


Map illustration: Rocio Espin
CHANCELLORSVILLE
Salem Church
Fairview
Elys Ford
Bam
U.S. Ford
Woodroad
Hooker Headquarters
Howards Headquarters
Plank Road
Wagons
Artillery
Army Units
Kelly's Ford
Alorich House
Rappahannock River
Germanna Ford
Fredericksburg Road
Scotts Run
01 THE UNION OFFENSIVE TO DESTROY LEE
Major General Joseph Hooker implements a new offensive that he believes will encircle General Robert E Lee's flanks around Fredericksburg and force him to retreat, giving the Union the opportunity to beat him on their own terms.
02 HOOKER LOSES HIS NERVE
On first contact with Lee's forces on crossroads within the Wilderness, Hooker's confidence evaporates. Against the wishes of his subordinates, he orders his army back to defensive positions around Chancellorsville on 1 May.
03 LEE DIVIDES HIS COMMAND
That evening, Lee meets with Thomas 'Stonewall' Jackson at a bivouac in the dense woodlands around Chancellorsville to review reconnaissance reports. Scouts report Hooker has overextended his line and can be flanked. The Confederate commanders plan an audacious assault on the furthermost Union point – XI Corps.
04 THE WEAKNESS OF XI CORPS
Major General Oliver O Howard fails to follow Hooker's orders for his men to dig in and construct fortifications. Jackson's forces are in place by late afternoon along the unprotected flank of XI Corps. Despite reports coming into Hooker's HQ of sightings of Jackson's troops, the Union commander thinks Lee is retreating. XI Corps fate is sealed as Jackson attacks.
05 RALLYING THE MEN
Thousands of terrified Union troops pour into and past Howard's headquarters. Realising the unfolding disaster, he holds aloft the corps colours and gallops his horse into the hordes of fleeing troops to rally them. It only buys the collapsing Union line 30 minutes, but as the daylight ebbs it proves crucial to averting complete annihilation.
N
0
4 km
0

BATTLE of CHANCELLORSVILLE
VIRGINIA
May 1st 2d 3d 4th 1863
From Plane Table Official Copy of Reconnoissance made by Engineer Officers of 1st and 12th Corps
REFERENCE

A contemporary map of the battlefield depicting each side's movements on 2 and 3 May

© Alamy

Chancellorsville Campaign
27 April–4 May 1863

08 THE UNION ADVANCE FROM FREDERICKSBURG
Union troops assault the Confederate positions above Fredericksburg on the morning of 3 May to link up with Hooker at Chancellorsville. Their breakthrough that lunchtime is marred by delays in reorganising to quickly advance on Lee's rear, giving the Confederate commander time to turn and fight off the relief effort that afternoon.

09 GIVING UP KEY GROUND
The two wings of Lee's onrushing army are separated by the high ground of Hazel Grove occupied by the Union III Corps. Confused of his intentions and worried Lee outnumbers his forces, Hooker gives the order to retreat from this vital position. Confederate artillerymen seize it and establish a powerful gun platform that now dominates the battle.

10 THE FINAL ASSAULTS
Supported by superior artillery fire, Stewart orders multiple assaults on what remains of Hooker's lines at the Chancellorsville crossroads on the morning of 4 May. Hooker's lines are again forced to fall back to fortified positions. However, Confederate delays in reforming their lines for a final assault allow the Union to organise a full retreat to their original start lines across the Rappahannock by 6 May.

06 SPOOKING THE CONFEDERATES
The men of the 8th Pennsylvania Cavalry are awaiting orders to harass retreating Confederate wagon trains. Instead, they are summoned by Howard to come to his aid against Jackson's onslaught. The horsemen gallop into huge numbers of the enemy, barely escaping after losing 30 men. However, it scares Confederate pickets that evening into looking out for potential mounted units roaming along their lines.

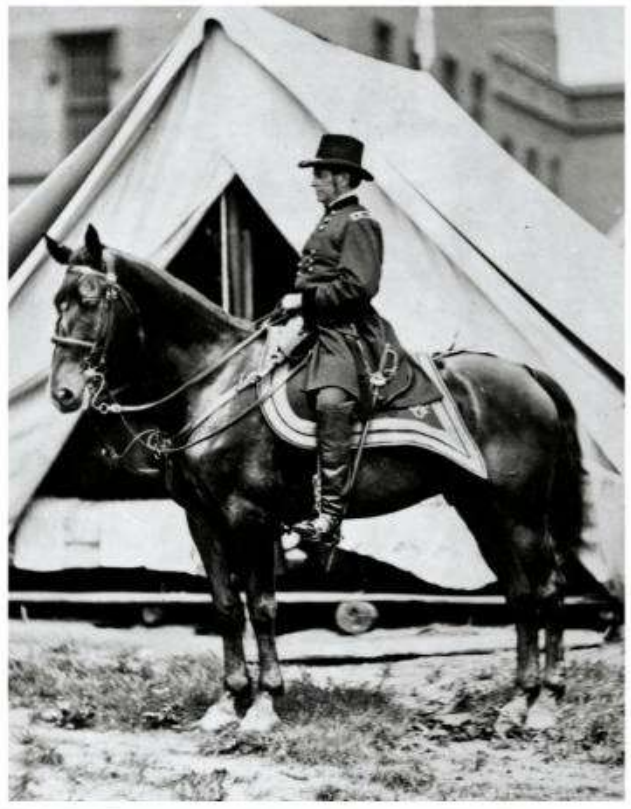
07 JACKSON IS WOUNDED BY FRIENDLY FIRE
Scouting forward lines for a rare night attack on the Union survivors, Jackson's party is returning to Confederate positions at 9.30pm when they are fired upon by nervous rebel pickets belonging to the 18th Carolina who mistake them for Union cavalry. Jackson is shot in his left upper, lower arm and his hand. Command is passed to AP Hill, then to JEB Stewart after Hill too is wounded.

Morrisville
Somerville
Mount Holl Ch.
Ellis' Ford
Rocky Ford
Rappahannock River
Hartwood Ch.
XXX To Stafford C.H.
II
COUCH
1
XXX
III
SICKLES
HOOKER
XXX
V
MEADE
XXX
XI
HOWARD
XXX
XII
SLOCUM
Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac R.R.
Culpeper's Ford
Richard's Ferry
Blind Ford
Rapidan River
Ely's Ford
Todd's Ford
U.S. Ford
Scott's Dam
8
Falmouth
The Wilderness
Wilderness Tavern
Wilderness Church
5
6
CHANCELLORSVILLE
7
10
2
4
9
XX
FREDERICKSBURG
Banks' Ford
McLAWS
Salem Ch.
Zoan Ch.
Plank Road
Brock Road
Unfinished R.R.
XXX
ANDERSON
XXX
JACKSON
3
LEE
XX
EARLY
XX
STONEY
XXX
1
REYNOLDS
XXX
VI
SEDGEWICK
XXX
III
JACKSON
XX
EARLY
4 miles
Spotsylvania C.H.

Map: Swanston Map Archive Ltd

That night, Lee and Jackson sat in conference debating an audacious idea. Lee would again divide his forces in the face of superior numbers and have Jackson take his 2nd Corps of 28,000 men through the back roads of the Wilderness – a wide area of dense shrubs and trees – to position himself at the flank of XI Corps, while Lee held at bay the bulk of Hooker's army facing him. Using a local guide, Jackson's men set out at 4am, reaching their destination by 5pm after a 19km march.

Jackson's men hit XI Corps like a sledgehammer, enveloping the startled Union troops as Hooker's whole line retreated before his eyes. Darkness saved a total Union collapse, as both sides halted and dug in where they stood. Jackson and his staff ventured ahead of the Confederate line to assess if a night-time attack could work. As they returned, rebel pickets, tired and anxious from the day's fighting, mistook them in the dark for Union cavalry reported to be in the vicinity. The trigger-happy Confederate sentries opened fire, killing two of the general's staff and wounding Jackson himself. Though a tragic loss, the enemy still needed to be finished off the next day and his corps would be led by Major General JEB Stuart.



Generals Lee and Stuart now needed to eliminate Hooker's III Corps, which stood between them, if they were to bring both halves of the Confederate Army together and drive the remaining Federals from the battlefield. The daring marches of the previous days now gave way to a series of bloody encounters in the dense undergrowth and woods as both sides slugged it out throughout the morning of 3 May. Again, Hooker's timidity resurfaced as he gave up a key elevated position at Hazel Grove, allowing the Confederates to take it and establish a formidable gun park which would dominate the rest of that day's fighting. That

***Left**: Major General Joseph Hooker led the Army of the Potomac but was a poor frontline commander*

"THE TRIGGER-HAPPY CONFEDERATE SENTRIES OPENED FIRE, KILLING TWO OF THE GENERAL'S STAFF AND WOUNDING JACKSON HIMSELF"

Images © Alamy, Getty

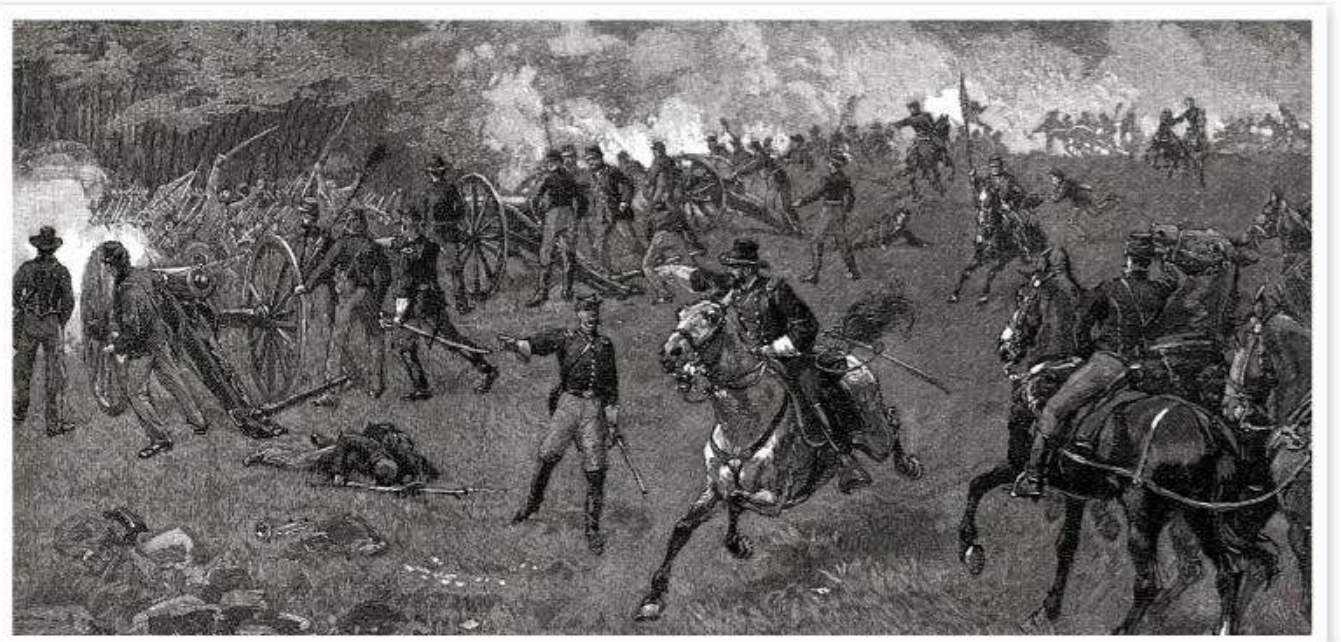
***Above**: A depction of 'Stonewall' Jackson's wounding during the battle, which in fact occurred at night*

Union artillery at Chancellorsville, by photographer A.J. Russell

Above: *Wounded soldiers from the Union Army recuperate after their defeat at Chancellorsville*

Above: *The Union suffered 17,197 casualties, with 1,606 killed – including three divisional commanders*

"ONCE AGAIN, A SUPERIOR UNION ARMY HAD BEEN OUT-GENERALLED INTO ABJECT DEFEAT"



***Above:** This contemporary wood engraving of the battle has the description "repulse of Jackson's men at Hazel Grove, by artillery under General Pleasonton"*

morning Jackson's old corps crashed into the centre of the Union positions, bringing calamity to Hooker's forces. Fearing for the overall position, Hooker ordered Major General John Sedgwick's VI Corps of 22,000 men to come to his aid. Sedgwick successfully advanced up Marye's Heights at the Second Battle of Fredericksburg and marched west to Chancellorsville – unaware Hooker's position was about to cave in.

Though wary of this new threat coming from fresh Union forces advancing from Fredericksburg, Lee remained calm and, turning away from Hooker, divided his army a third time to meet Sedgwick head on. The Union VI Corps was held at a crossroads at Salem Church, and then driven back. A rattled Hooker refused to come to Sedgwick's aid to coordinate a counterattack that might have at the last moment turned the battle in the Union's favour.

Unsupported, Sedgwick was forced to retreat eastwards to protect the Union flank and support Hooker's order for the bulk of his army to undertake a rapid withdrawal back to the safety of the Rappahannock River. With Union troops disappearing westwards, both of Lee's wings finally met in the clearing of the Chancellorsville mansion. It was a crushing Union defeat as Lee surveyed his weary and bloodied troops raising their rifles in triumph, their yelling echoing through the woods. Once again, a superior Union army had been out-generalled into abject defeat.

Aftermath

Lee's comprehensive victory would later be described as the 'perfect battle', but the cost to the South was enormous in terms of casualties that they could ill afford and the mortal wounding of their legendary general Stonewall Jackson.

Of the 133,000 Union troops that Hooker had taken into the campaign, he had suffered 17,197 casualties with 1,606 killed, including three divisional commanders – more than had been lost at the disaster at Fredericksburg the previous December. The news caused shock and disbelief in Washington, with President Lincoln lamenting to his staff: "My God, my God, what will the country say?"

***Left:** This painting shows the last meeting between Stonewall Jackson (left) and Robert E Lee. Jackson was mortally wounded during the battle by friendly fire*

For the South, despite the elation of Lee's superb victory, it had come at a terrible price. The Army of Northern Virginia's losses amounted to 13,303 (a staggering 22 percent of Lee's command), more than the bloodletting his army had suffered at Antietam in September 1862 when he had invaded the North. Compounding these figures would be the shocking news a few days later on 10 May that Stonewall Jackson, despite a successful amputation of his wounded arm, had then succumbed to infection. A crestfallen Lee bemoaned to staff: "He may have lost his left arm, but I have lost my right." The loss to the command structure of the Army of Northern Virginia going forward, and to the morale of the Confederacy, was incalculable.

For both sides, the outcome of Battle of Chancellorsville brought into sharp focus what they needed to achieve in 1863. Lee was despondent. Despite this famous victory, his losses and his failure to finish off Hooker's beleaguered and confused army convinced him that only taking the war to the Union once again might bring about a strategic victory. Lee would convince the South's leadership that they should focus all their energies on the eastern theatre, to the detriment of those Confederate forces defending vital western interests on the Mississippi. For the Union, President Lincoln once again began the desperate search for a commander who could successfully use the North's superior strength in numbers and materiel to bring him victory. A feeling of a coming reckoning pervaded Washington circles as many saw the summer campaign season as pivotal to the outcome of the war.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Chancellorsville, 1863: Jackson's Lightning Strike, by Carl Smith, Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 1998
- Clouds of Glory: The Life of Robert E. Lee, by Michael Korda, New York: Harper Perennial, 2015
- Chancellorsville 1863: The Souls of the Brave, by Ernest B Furgurson, New York, Knopf Inc. 1992

Images © Alamy, Getty

LEE MILLER

Among the most iconic and acclaimed photojournalists and correspondents of the Second World War, Miller went from the front page of *Vogue* to the frontline of the Normandy invasion

WORDS **MARIANNA BUKOWSKI**

Model. Surrealist. Photographer. World War II correspondent. Lee Miller's life reads like a masterclass in living several different lives in one lifetime. "She was the nearest thing I knew to a mid-20th century Renaissance woman," said fellow World War II photojournalist David E Scherman. Perhaps her most remarkable work is from her time as a World War II photojournalist and correspondent, documenting women's war effort in Britain, the Siege of St Malo, the Alsace Campaign and the liberation of Buchenwald and Dachau concentration camps.

A fractured childhood

Elizabeth 'Lee' Miller was born on 23 April 1907 in Poughkeepsie, New York, to Florence and Theodore Miller. Growing up on a farm provided near endless possibilities for adventure and Theodore, a mechanical engineer, would treat Lee the same as her two brothers, encouraging their shared interests in science and machinery. Lee's favourite toy was a chemistry set, and she was soon introduced to photography when her father installed a darkroom in a cupboard underneath the stairs. Yet Lee's childhood was to end abruptly. At the age of seven she was sexually assaulted, by a family acquaintance. The trauma was to be further aggravated, as the perpetrator infected Lee with gonorrhoea – a venereal disease for which the medical treatment at the time consisted of numerous acid irrigations, administered daily for a year. "It changed her whole life and attitude," her brother, the aviation pioneer John Miller, recalled years later. "She went wild."

Lee, pictured here in October 1932, travelling across the Atlantic to Paris, was soon accepted by the Allied troops she met thanks to her quick-thinking and ability to improvise

© Getty

At home, Lee would immerse herself in her own projects with total dedication, yet at school she refused to submit to authority and in her teenage years proceeded to get expelled from every school in which she was enrolled. In an attempt to salvage the situation, Lee's parents arranged a trip to Paris. While the time in the French capital may not have been the cultivating experience they had hoped for, it would put Lee on course to start forging her own distinctive path in life. Announcing her desire to become an artist, she eventually began to study at The Art Students League of New York. Soon after, fate would intervene.

Model, muse and surrealist

Crossing a street in New York, Lee accidentally stepped into oncoming traffic and was pulled back in the nick of time by a bystander, who turned out to be Condé Nast, the publishing magnate. Undoubtedly taken by her striking beauty, he later offered her work for one of his publications, *Vogue*. Lee became an overnight success as a model. Her first appearance in *Vogue* was on the front cover of the March 1927 issue. The image, illustrated rather than photographed, as was the custom at the time, represented the new 'moderne' look that was coming into fashion.

Lee was in the right place at the right time. Shot by the foremost photographers of the era – Edward Steichen, Arnold Genthe, Horst P Horst and George Hoyningen-Huene – she learned techniques from each as she modelled for them. Yet for all her success as a model in New York, by 1929 her mind was set on returning to Paris. She persuaded Man Ray, an American visual artist prolific in the Parisian surrealist movement, to take her on, not only as a model but also as a photographer's apprentice. Together, as lovers and collaborators, they reinvented the Sabattier effect, a dream-like photography technique they called Solarization, where positive and negative is seen simultaneously.

The surrealist environment suited Lee's temperament. Man Ray's photograph of Lee as "la femme surréaliste" sealed her place as a surrealistic icon and muse. Jean Cocteau cast her as the female lead in *The Blood of a Poet*. Lee's first self-portrait as a model was published in the September 1930 issue of American *Vogue*. She had her own studio in Paris and later, after an acrimonious split from Man Ray, she opened Lee Miller Studios Inc in New York, where she proudly did her own electrical wiring and constructed her own darkroom. "It seems to me that women have a bigger chance at success in photography than men," she said. "Women are quicker and more adaptable than men."

Yet just as everything seemed to fall into place, Lee decided to abandon it all. For a time at least. She closed her studio and married her first husband, wealthy Egyptian tycoon Aziz Eloui Bey, in 1934 and left for Cairo. In Siwa she took one of her most famous photographs, *Portrait of Space*. Yet the luxurious Egyptian lifestyle could not cure Lee's restlessness and by 1937 she returned to Paris where, through Surrealist painter Max Ernst, she met her future second husband, Roland Penrose. Penrose, a painter and chronicler of the Surrealist movement, was also a lifelong friend of Pablo Picasso. Spending time together with Picasso and Dora Maar at the Côte d'Azur, Picasso would paint a series of portraits of Lee. In 1939 she left Aziz and Egypt for good and came back with Penrose to London, just as WWII broke out in Europe.

"LEE'S SURREALISTIC STAGING CONCEPTS AND HUMOUR WOULD PROVIDE THE SOLUTION TO TRANSFORMING DRY GOVERNMENT DIRECTIVES INTO HIGH FASHION"

A woman's war

With her work visa restricted, Lee volunteered at British *Vogue*. '*Brogue*', as it was often referred to, would paradoxically come into its own during the war. With mounting material shortages, shelter overalls called 'siren suits' appearing in the stores, and gas masks now an essential accessory, even fashion became a serious business.

In close collaboration with the Ministry of Information, British *Vogue* would deliver important public information, where Lee's surrealistic staging concepts and humour would provide the solution to transforming dry government directives into high fashion.

Her photographic essays built an extensive and detailed catalogue of women's wartime experiences and contribution to the war effort: the Home Front, Land Girls, Army nurses, Air Transport Auxiliary pilots and factory workers. Lee's own baptism of fire came while she was working on an assignment about Auxiliary Territorial Service women manning a searchlight battery during an air raid. Her photographs would also form the basis of two books: *Grim Glory: Pictures of Britain Under Fire* (1941), a photographic history of the Blitz, and *Wrens in Camera* (1945).

Seeking out other Americans in London, Lee met Scherman, a 25-year-old New Yorker distinguishing himself as a photographer for *Life* magazine. Together they would often collaborate on assignments, yet Lee did not always relish the work: "It seems pretty silly to go on working for a frivolous paper like *Vogue*; though it may be good for the country's morale, it's hell on mine."

***Below:** Lee, here pictured second from the right alongside other female war correspondents, catalogued women's contribution to the war effort*

Image: Wiki / PD / Gov

“GERMANY IS A BEAUTIFUL LANDSCAPE DOTTED WITH JEWEL-LIKE VILLAGES, BLOTCHED WITH RUINED CITIES, AND INHABITED BY SCHIZOPHRENICS”

Allied soldiers pick their way through the ruins of St Malo during bitter fighting that was witnessed by Lee

***Above:** Lee (right) shows a fashion model the exact pose she wants during a photo shoot, October 1940*

***Above:** Creating high-end fashion photographs such as this one was a far cry from documenting the horrors of World War II*

Eventually she was given official accreditation as a US war correspondent, attached to Condé Nast press. Becoming one of a handful of accredited female war correspondents, her US War Department card was issued on 30 December 1942. Lee, always the self-confessed "snappy dresser", ordered her uniform in Savile Row. "Now I wear a soldier's suit," she told her parents. "You ought to see me all done up and very serious in olive drab and flat heeled shoes!"

"In a time of war," *Vogue*'s editor Audrey Withers wrote in her memoir, "we needed to report war and Lee Miller might have been created for the purpose of doing just that for us." At first, Lee had reservations about her coming reinvention as a writer. "I've spent fifteen years of my life learning how to take a picture, that thing worth ten thousand words, and here I am cutting my own throat," she wrote on a note accompanying her first article submission. Yet her record as a war correspondent would turn out to be remarkable.

Unarmed warriors

A few weeks after the D-Day landings in June 1944, Lee managed to get accredited for her first assignment abroad, documenting the US 44th Evacuation Hospital at La Cambe, close to Omaha Beach in Normandy. Intended as a 'safe' piece for *Vogue*'s sensibilities, showing nurses in a hospital, her dispatch was anything but. From the very start, her personal narrative was very frank and honest, and in sharp contrast to the often cheerily narrated newsreels of the time.

The piece describes the wounded soldiers and medical procedures in vivid detail, and her experience in documenting it. "A bad burns case asked me to take his picture as he wanted to see how funny he looked. It was pretty grim, and I didn't focus good." She quickly adapted to the surroundings. "I didn't flash a bulb without some warning to the surgeon, but I needn't have bothered, as he never flinched even for near gunfire." At night she described feeling "infinitely more secure with a millimeter of canvas as a bulwark against the enemy than I felt in London with bricks against the enemy bombers". Her story, *Unarmed Warriors*, ran in the August 1944 issue, raising the bar for *Vogue*'s features for the next 18 months.

The Siege of St Malo

As a female war correspondent, she was strictly forbidden from entering any combat zone. Yet due to an intelligence failure suggesting the town had already fallen, Lee was the only correspondent covering five days of intense fighting at the Siege of St Malo, in August 1944. "I thumbed a ride to the siege of St Malo. I had brought my bed, I begged my board, and I was given a grandstand view of fortress warfare reminiscent of Crusader times. I had thought that watching a battle from a hillside had gone out with the glamorous paintings of Napoleon…" Lee arrived at a battalion HQ of the 83rd Infantry which was under heavy fire from the feverishly held citadel. "Lee was terribly good at thinking quickly on her feet and improvising and in no time was accepted by the officers and men of the outfit," recalled Scherman.

She described the soldiers in her own, distinctive way: "A company filing out, ready to go into action, grenades hanging on their lapels like Cartier clips…" Lee thrived on the excitement of battle. "I was the only photographer for miles around and I now owned a private war," she wrote as she was exposed to small arms, machine gun, mortar and artillery fire as well as the American bombers. "They were on time – bombs away – a sickly death rattle as they straightened themselves out and plunged into the citadel – deadly hit – for a moment I could see where and how – then it was swallowed up by smoke." Lee photographed the explosion, not knowing that she was documenting America's first use of napalm.

Back in Paris

"Now that I have the taste for gunpowder," she wrote as she was back in Paris, covering the jubilation of the freed French capital, she was eager to return to the frontline. At Hotel Scribe, Lee quickly turned room 412 into a "pig-pen", with guns, bayonets, camera equipment, crates of flash bulbs and cognac and all kinds of loot in every corner. In the middle of the chaos was her beat-up Hermes portable typewriter, on which all her dispatches were written.

She photographed the latest Paris fashions, Fred Astaire at the GI show at the Theatre Olympia, and interviewed the French author Colette and film star Marlene Dietrich – a woman whose own legendary life would chart the events of the entire 20th century. In Paris, Lee also had a happy reunion with Picasso, who as an inspiration to others had stayed working in his studio during the entire occupation, and now happily exclaimed that Lee was the first Allied soldier he had met. Shortly after, she managed to re-join the 83rd Infantry Division and covered the surrender of 20,000 German troops on the Loire.

'The pattern of liberation is not decorative'

In October Lee left for the front near Luxembourg. As *Vogue*'s editor Withers asked for a positive piece on liberation, Lee somewhat reluctantly approached the subject in an eloquent article: "The pattern of liberation is not decorative. There is the beautiful overall colour of freedom but there is ruin and destruction. There are problems and mistakes, disappointed hopes and broken promises." Lee never left a glossy surface unexamined for what lay underneath. Her extensive piece on the Allied Alsace Campaign and the battle of the Colmar

Images © Getty

Liberated prisoners at the Dachau concentration camp celebrate their freedom, 1945

In the aftermath of World War II Lee battled with alcoholism and depression

Pocket has a vivid immediacy, sparing no-one some self-reflection. “We’ve all been conditioned wrong,” she wrote, unrelenting.

Lee followed the Allied forces as they pushed into Germany. “A Gestapo jail was liberated, and the accusation of criminal insanity was levelled at the entire German people by the mute dead as well as by the articulate living,” she wrote. She photographed the piles of dead bodies at Buchenwald concentration camp, the unrepentant and beaten-up SS guards, and German women on a conducted tour through the camp. “Germany is a beautiful landscape dotted with jewel-like villages, blotched with ruined cities, and inhabited by schizophrenics,” Lee wrote. The German civilians’ feigned ignorance and unwillingness to recognise their own complicity in the unfolding horrors only fuelled her anger.

Dachau

“I arrived at Dachau on the night of 30 April as blackout and shells were falling,” Lee wrote, one day after the notorious concentration camp was liberated. Scherman recalled: “We held flashbulbs for each other while photographing stripe-clad skeletons who had just been freed. A few of them died of exhaustion before we could get their pictures.”

Their photographs documented unspeakable horrors: GIs examining rail trucks and train wagons filled with dead prisoners, corpses piled onto horse carts, newly freed prisoners scavenging a rubbish dump and awaiting distribution of bread, a dead SS prison guard floating in a canal. “Dachau had everything you’ll ever hear or close your ears to about a concentration camp,” Lee wrote to Withers. “Dave Scherman and I took off from Dachau to go look for the war front which seemed a mirage of cleanliness and humanity,” she continued. Dachau had left them “gulping for air and for violence, and if Munich, the birthplace of this horror was falling we’d like to help”.

Hitleriana

As they arrived in Munich, shortly after the 45th Division had taken the city, Hitler’s apartment on 16 Prinzregentenplatz now served as the command post of the 179th Regiment. “I was living in Hitler’s apartment in Munich when his death was announced,” Lee wrote in a piece entitled *Hitleriana*, where she described the apartment and interviewed anyone she managed to come across: “No Germans, unless they are underground resistance workers or concentration camp inmates, find that Hitler did anything wrong except to lose. They put it very simply: ‘He should have made peace when the Russian war went bad.’ I don’t think they’ll ever learn, and I know I will never understand them.”

Scherman’s famous photograph of Lee in Hitler’s bathtub was coincidentally taken on the same day as Hitler’s suicide, on 30 April 1945. Her boots, covered in dirt after the visit to Dachau concentration camp, deliberately soil the bath mat.

On 8 May Lee was typing in the press camp as news came of Germany’s surrender. “S**t! That’s blown my first paragraph,” was her journalistic gut reaction. With reports coming in of people finding the atrocities of the camps too horrific to believe, she urgently cabled London: “No question that German civilians knew what went on. Railway siding into Dachau camp runs by villas, with trains of dead… I usually don’t take pictures of horrors. But don’t think that every town and every area isn’t rich with them. I hope *Vogue* will feel it can publish these pictures.”

Lee’s article ran in both magazines. Several of her photographs were printed in the US version. British *Vogue* ran one image: the pile of corpses at Buchenwald.

An elusive peace

Once the war ended, with all its horrors, not everyone was able to resume a normal life, and Lee’s life had never been conventional to start with. Instead, she kept going: “I had to learn to relax, to go from war to peace.” In her continuing travels through Europe, her images show how in spite of the celebrations on VE day the effects and consequences of war continued. Inevitably, the end of the war was also a kind of anti-climax for people, who in some way came into their own through the particular circumstances war created.

For many women, it also meant a kind of regression – post-war life would simply not offer the same professional opportunities. For Lee it also meant some long-suppressed traumas would resurface. “There is no erase button for the traumatic images that enter our minds,” wrote her son Antony Penrose, who was born in 1947. Motherhood was not a role that came instinctively to Lee, who for many years would come to battle alcoholism and depression. In 1949 Penrose bought Farley Farm in Chiddingly, East Sussex, where they settled down. Eventually, Lee would overcome her addiction to alcohol. There was even time for more metamorphoses in her life; she became a botanist and later a gourmet cook. Mother and son were reconciled shortly before she died of cancer, at the age of 70 on 21 July 1977. The decline had been swift, and she had faced her own death as she had faced her life – fearlessly.

Pieces of a puzzle

Lee’s son only discovered his mother’s extensive photographic work after her death. He would later set up The Lee Miller Archives, where her vast catalogue of photographs, writing and letters are held today. “Lee Miller Penrose had a prodigious life. More accurately, she had half-a-dozen discrete, self-contained prodigious lives, one after another,” Scherman would say years later. Lee saw her own life as a jigsaw puzzle, where the pieces “don’t match in shape or design”. Perhaps no truly individual life can ever be summed up in a fully coherent shape – least of all a surrealist’s life. Instead, perhaps it’s better to see the different fractions as parts of a more abstract portrait, like something that Picasso painted in *Portrait of Lee Miller à L’Arlésienne*.

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Heroes of the Medal of Honor

HERSHEL 'WOODY' WILLIAMS

In February 1945, as US Marines struggled to overcome Iwo Jima's relentless Japanese defenders, a 21-year-old corporal silenced seven pillboxes to help turn the tide of the battle

WORDS **ALEX BOWERS**

Hershel Woodrow Williams' mind went as black as the beaches he had just stormed. Known affectionately as 'Woody', standing at a modest 168cm (5ft 6in) tall and having reached drinking age just few months prior, he struck an unlikely figure to be thrust into the fray at a time of immense peril. It was 23 February 1945, and American forces were faltering on the infamous Japanese island of Iwo Jima. A series of reinforced concrete pillboxes stood in the way of securing the first of two main airfields a short distance from the shore, each individual position staunchly defended by troops prepared to die for their cause. The Marines needed to fight fire with fire, leaving Williams, armed with his flamethrower and accompanied by five comrades, with the chance to stand tall.

The odds had rarely been in his favour, yet he had defied them at almost every turn. Born in Quiet Dell, West Virginia, weighing 1.6kg (3½lb), few had expected the infant boy to live. He nevertheless survived despite having already lost several siblings amid the flu pandemic. Years later, his father succumbed to a heart attack and his widowed mother was forced to look after the family dairy farm by herself. Williams would go on to work numerous jobs, including a role with the Civilian Conservation Corps in which he was engaged on a Montana-based project when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. While personally compelled to serve like countless other fellow Americans, Williams had no wish to join his brothers in the US Army, believing that the brown uniforms were ugly; instead, he had his sights on the dress blue of the Marine Corps. Then aged 17, however, he needed his mother to sign his permission papers, something she wasn't prepared to do. He had no choice other than to wait until he turned 18, but even that wouldn't be enough in the eyes of military regulations because he didn't meet the Marines' height regulations. Only in 1943, when these requirements were reduced, was Williams able to enlist and adorn the coveted blue uniform.

***Above:** Destroyed vehicles and American dead littered the shore after the Marines' assault faced fierce resistance from the Japanese*

He began his initial training in San Diego, California, before being deployed to the 3rd Marine Division on Guadalcanal in January 1944. There, he was selected to become a demolition flamethrower operator. His first experience of combat came during the Second Battle of Guam in July-August 1944. He would stay on the island until February

HERSHEL ‘WOODY’ WILLIAMS

Williams used flamethrowers to destroy enemy gun emplacements and clear a path for his comrades during the US assault on Iwo Jima

“AS FAR AS I WAS CONCERNED, I WAS JUST DOING A JOB”

Hershel ‘Woody’ Williams

1945, at which point his unit – C Company, 1st Battalion, 21st Marine Regiment – was shipped out to a then-undisclosed location. Their next objective would soon be revealed as Iwo Jima, a Japanese territorial island some 1,200km south of Tokyo; it was a mere 21 square-kilometres (eight square-miles) and, as Williams' companions and others would remark, resembled the shape of a pork chop. It was to become a pork chop that would sizzle under five weeks of intense fighting to dislodge the 22,000-strong Japanese forces that had made Iwo Jima into a fortress.

The Marines landed on 19 February, with Williams' unit in reserve. But such was the carnage faced by the men, almost 2,500 of whom became casualties on the first day, that reinforcements were required almost immediately. Williams found himself traversing the beaches of black volcanic sand on 21 February, surrounded by blown-up jeeps, burnt-out tanks and American dead wrapped in their ponchos, their bodies stacked in lines on the dark sand. Speaking to *History of War* in a 2020 interview, Williams said of the scene: "It was very sobering; I've never been able to eradicate those thoughts." Despite the horrific carnage, hope came on 23 February when he witnessed the Stars and Stripes flying above the nearby Mount Suribachi – but little did he know that the events of the next few hours would change his life forever.

An NCO meeting was to be held in a huge shell crater, which Williams' commanding officer insisted he attend in the capacity of acting sergeant. The discussion centred around the enemy pillboxes that remained active on the other side of the airfield – targets

"[WILLIAMS'] UNYIELDING DETERMINATION AND EXTRAORDINARY HEROISM IN THE FACE OF RUTHLESS ENEMY RESISTANCE WERE DIRECTLY INSTRUMENTAL IN NEUTRALIZING ONE OF THE MOST FANATICALLY DEFENDED JAPANESE STRONG POINTS ENCOUNTERED"

Medal of Honor citation

that needed to be silenced to secure the site. Attention turned to Williams, who volunteered his flamethrower-operating skills. "I'll try," the native West Virginian declared as he mustered four men to protect him with covering fire and another 'charge pole' man, wielding a literal pole topped with demolitions, to finish the job. The plan was relatively straightforward but a great deal could still go wrong.

Much of what happened next was a violent blur for Williams. Not long after venturing forward into a hail of bullets, his demolitions expert took a hit to the helmet that knocked him out of the action. At some point in the struggle he also lost two of his riflemen – both killed – and so Williams continued the assualt with only two remaining companions. When he reached one of the pillboxes, he inserted the flamethrower nozzle into it and lit up the structure with a fiery blaze, incinerating everyone within. Ditches between the enemy positions enabled him to crawl between them, offering limited protection from small-arms fire over his head. Later, he recalled hauling himself over the sand on top of another pillbox, spying a vent pipe, and sending flames shooting down. In another instance, he stopped a Japanese bayonet charge against him by torching his assailants.

Williams returned to American lines time and again to retrieve more flamethrowers, using six in total before running back to eliminate yet another pillbox. Finally, through his outstanding performance of duty in clearing seven gun emplacements, a clear route could be opened to allow fellow Marines to get in behind the last strongholds. "The CO told us to move forward and we carried on fighting as though nothing had happened," said Williams. "As far as I was concerned I was just doing a job."

As far as anyone else was concerned, Acting Sergeant Hershel W Williams had gone above and beyond the call of duty, putting his life on the line to ensure the day's ultimate success. His Medal of Honor citation reads in part: "[Williams'] unyielding determination and extraordinary heroism in the face of ruthless enemy resistance were directly instrumental in neutralizing one of the most fanatically

US Marines in foxholes on the southeast edge of Motoyama Airfield No. 1, Iwo Jima, on 23 February 1945 – the same day Williams' heroics took place

Above-left: *Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi paid their respects to Williams as he lay in honour at the US Capitol Rotunda*

Above: *Williams lay in honour on 14 July 2022. He was the last surviving WWII recipient of the Medal of Honor*

Williams’ legacy extends to a medical facility and warship named after him. His original medal is held at the Pritzker Military Museum & Library in Chicago

defended Japanese strong points encountered by his regiment and aided vitally in enabling his company to reach its objective.” Williams would continue to showcase these attributes as the Marines battled their way through Iwo Jima’s unforgiving northern terrain. On 6 March 1945, the soon-to-be recipient of the United States’ highest military award was wounded in the left leg by a piece of shrapnel. Refusing to be evacuated so that he could help newly arrived Marines, he took the metal shard as a trophy and fought on with a limp.

The Iwo Jima campaign concluded on 26 March, after which Williams was redeployed to Guam and commenced training for the proposed invasion of Japan, before the atomic bomb detonations over Hiroshima and Nagasaki brought an end to the war. But what had taken place on that volcanic island remained seared into the memories of the surviving veterans, not least Williams, whose Medal of Honor – presented by President Harry S Truman at the White House on 5 October – he would dedicate to Corporal Warren H Bornholz and Private, First Class Charles G Fischer, the two riflemen who had laid down their lives to protect him. Including Williams, 27 Medals of Honor were awarded for the incredible bravery seen on Iwo Jima, many of them posthumous. The battle cost 26,000 American casualties – of the 6,821 killed 5,931 were Marines. Meanwhile, of the island’s 22,000 Japanese defenders, 20,000 were dead or were missing.

Williams spent a total of 20 years in the Marine Corps and Marine Corps Reserve during and after the war. Outside of the armed service, he would dedicate 33 years as a Veterans Service Representative with the US Department of Veteran Affairs, as well as almost ten years as the commandant of a West Virginia veterans nursing home. Perhaps his proudest achievement was the establishment of the Woody Williams Foundation, which to this day supports Gold Star families whose loved ones have made the ultimate sacrifice.

Williams passed away on 29 June 2022, aged 98 – at the time of his death he was the last surviving World War II Medal of Honor recipient. On 14 July his remains lay in honour at the US Capitol Rotunda where, in a rare display of bipartisanship, politicians from both sides of the aisle gathered to pay their respects. Republican Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell stated: “Our nation was richly blessed by the life of Woody Williams,” while Democratic House Speaker Nancy Pelosi said of the American hero: “At just five-foot-six, he was never the tallest Marine. At 135 pounds, never the biggest. Yet he was a force of nature on the battlefield.”

Images: Alamy, Getty

CURTISS SB2C HELLDIVER

WORDS STUART HADAWAY

The US Navy's carrier dive bomber was hell to handle and deeply flawed, but nonetheless made a huge impact on WWII's Pacific Theatre

FOUR-BLADED PROPELLER
Early models had a three-bladed propeller, but with the introduction of more-powerful and more-reliable engines a four-bladed propeller was needed to absorb the extra power.

"KNOWN TO CREWS AS 'THE BEAST' OR THE 'SON OF A BITCH 2ND CLASS', THE SB2C ENDED UP BEING THE USN'S MOST COMMON DIVE BOMBER"

FLAPS AND SLATS
The wings had a range of moving parts; slats at the front expanded to improve low-speed control, while split dive brakes were on the rear edges, along with the usual ailerons.

The Curtiss SB2C Helldiver (not to be confused with the earlier, biplane Curtiss SBC Helldiver) was designed to an ambitious set of specifications published by the United States Navy (USN) and United States Marine Corps (USMC) in 1938. They required a modern, fast, long-range monoplane dive bomber with internal bomb bay and powerful engine. Such was the USN's confidence in Curtiss, who had designed many of their aircraft in the last two decades, that the type was ordered into production in November 1940, weeks before the maiden flight of the prototype. When it flew, however, many problems soon became obvious.

The type suffered from an unreliable engine (which caused the prototype to crash the following February), structural weaknesses, such instability while diving that aiming was nearly impossible, and poor handling characteristics. A rapid redesign was carried out and modifications made to the production line. Helldivers finally entered front-line service in December 1943, but remained problematic. Known to crews as 'The Beast' or the 'Son of a Bitch 2nd Class', the SB2C ended up being the USN's most common dive bomber but its issues led to the rapid demise of Curtiss-Wright as an aircraft manufacturer.

CURTISS SB2C HELLDIVER

PRODUCTION	FROM 1938
ORIGIN	USA
LENGTH	11.17M (36FT 8IN)
WINGSPAN	15.15M (49FT 9IN)
ENGINE	1 X WRIGHT R-2600 CYCLONE RADIAL 1417KW (1900HP)
CREW	2
PRIMARY WEAPON	1 X 454KG (1000LB) BOMB
SECONDARY WEAPONS	2 X 20MM CANNON, 2 X 7.62MM (0.3IN) MACHINE GUNS, UNDERWING BOMBS AND ROCKETS

***Left:** Helldivers circle over USS Hornet before landing*

© Alamy

Illustration: Nicholas Forder

STUBBY FUSELAGE
A short fuselage was supposed to help with fitting the aircraft below decks in cramped hangers, but the lack of surface area exacerbated the longitudinal control difficulties.

ENLARGED TAIL
The Helldiver had a distinctive over-sized tail. The prototype suffered severe control issues, and even with the tail surface increased by 30 percent the production models continued to have stability problems.

ARMAMENT

The early SB2C had four forward-firing machine guns, but these were replaced by one 20mm cannon in each wing. The rear gunner's armament was also upgraded, from a 12.7mm (0.5in) machine gun to twin 7.62mm (0.3in) machine guns. The bomb bay could hold a single 454kg (1000lb) bomb mounted on a swing arm to throw it clear of the propeller in a dive, while four 127mm (5in) rockets or one 227kg (500lb) bomb could be carried on pylons under each wing.

***Right:** An SB2C with bomb doors open; an interior swing mounting would launch the bomb outwards*

"THE TYPE IMPROVED AFTER 1943 WHEN A WEB OF CORRUPTION WAS UNCOVERED: ARMY QUALITY INSPECTORS AT THE FACTORIES HAD BEEN PASSING DEFECTIVE ENGINES"

The Helldiver's 'sting in the tail' was a pair of 7.62mm (0.3in) machine guns

The prototype of the Curtiss Helldiver was discovered to have an incredible number of problems, needing some 880 modifications before going into production

***Right:** The SB2C had four pylons under each outer wing, as seen on this Italian Navy aircraft*

DESIGN

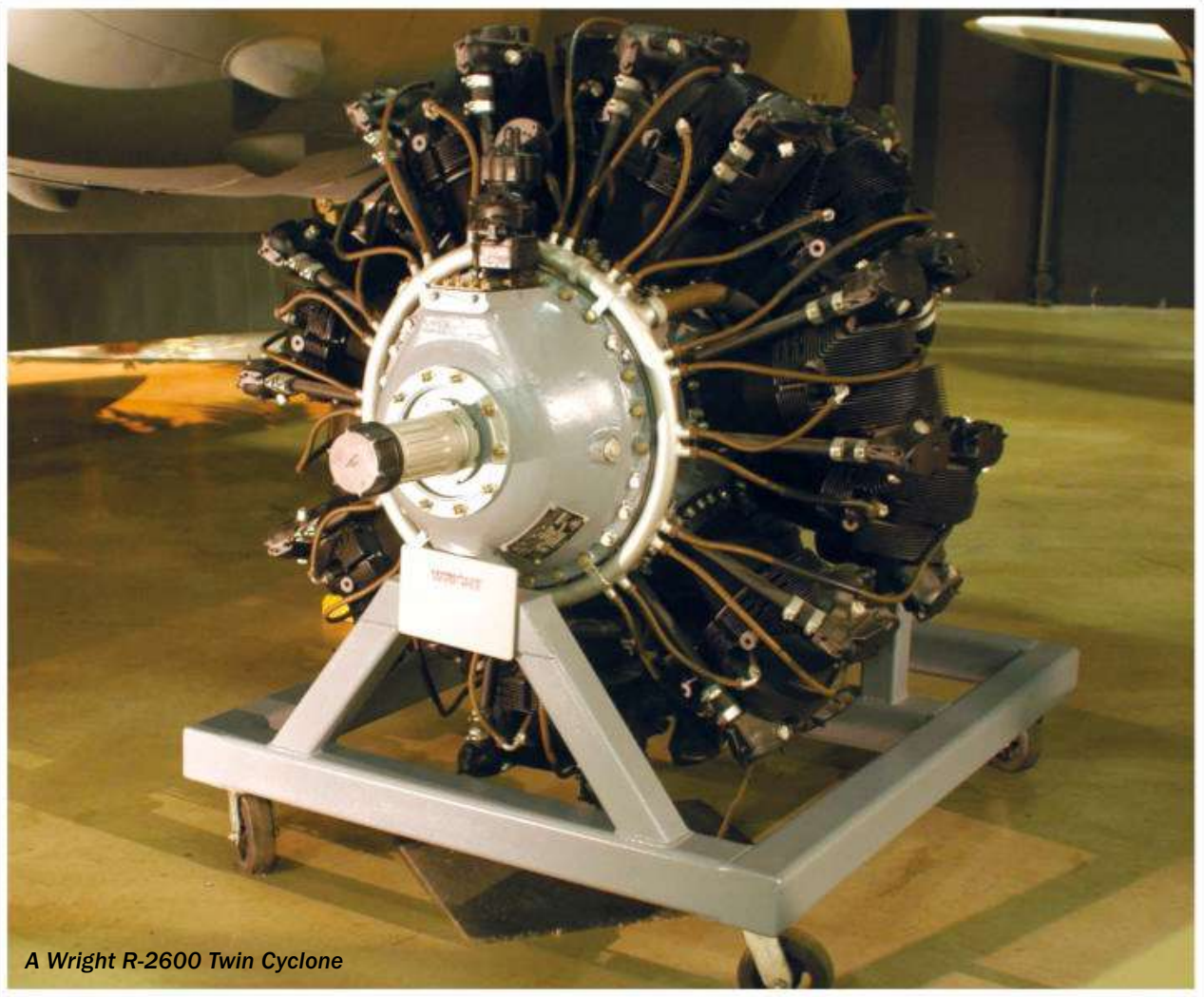
The Helldiver was designed specifically for carrier operations, where size was an important issue. A stressed-skin cantilever monoplane, it had folding wings and a deliberately stubby fuselage to facilitate storage in the tight confines of below-deck hangers, although the short fuselage also caused stability problems. The wing was set mid-fuselage so that the main spar was clear of the bomb bay, enabling larger bombs to be carried. The structure was robust to withstand the stresses of dive bombing as well as carrier landings, with a shock-absorbing undercarriage.

The shortened rear fuselage gave the Helldiver a highly distinctive, stubby look

ENGINE

The Helldiver used the powerful Wright R-2600-20 Twin Cyclone rotary engine. With 14 cylinders (in two rows) and supercharger, and fitted with a Curtiss four-bladed constant-speed fully feathering propeller (replacing an earlier three-bladed propeller), the engine could generate 1417kW (1900hp) of power.

Initially suffering from severe reliability problems and frequent failures due to manufacturing defects, the type improved after 1943 when a web of corruption was uncovered: army quality inspectors at the factories had been passing defective engines, leading to a series of courts martial and dismissals.



A Wright R-2600 Twin Cyclone

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COCKPIT

The pilot and gunner sat in an elongated tandem cockpit, although a fuel tank and radio equipment blocked direct communication between the two. The aircraft was heavy to handle for the pilot, slow to accelerate and had a high stalling speed. The controls could be hard work, with dive brakes and landing flaps operated by the same lever, while cowl flaps, oil cooler doors, bomb bay doors and landing gear controls all kept the pilot extremely busy during take-off and landing.

The crew pose next to the rear cockpit

"THE AIRCRAFT WAS HEAVY TO HANDLE FOR THE PILOT, SLOW TO ACCELERATE AND HAD A HIGH STALLING SPEED"

SERVICE HISTORY

After an extensive redesign, incorporating nearly 900 changes, the Helldiver finally entered front-line service at the end of 1943, taking part in a strike on Rabaul, New Guinea. The type continued to be modified and improved in service, and would take part in the fighting in the Marianas, Philippines, Taiwan, Iwo Jima and Okinawa. It participated (among other things) in the sinking of the Yamato and Musashi, the two largest battleships ever built.

A land version, the A-25 Shrike, was developed for the US Army, while the Royal Australian Air Force and the Fleet Air Arm also expressed an interest. All three tested small numbers of the aircraft and found them entirely unacceptable, cancelling their orders. The Shrike saw very limited combat with the USMC.

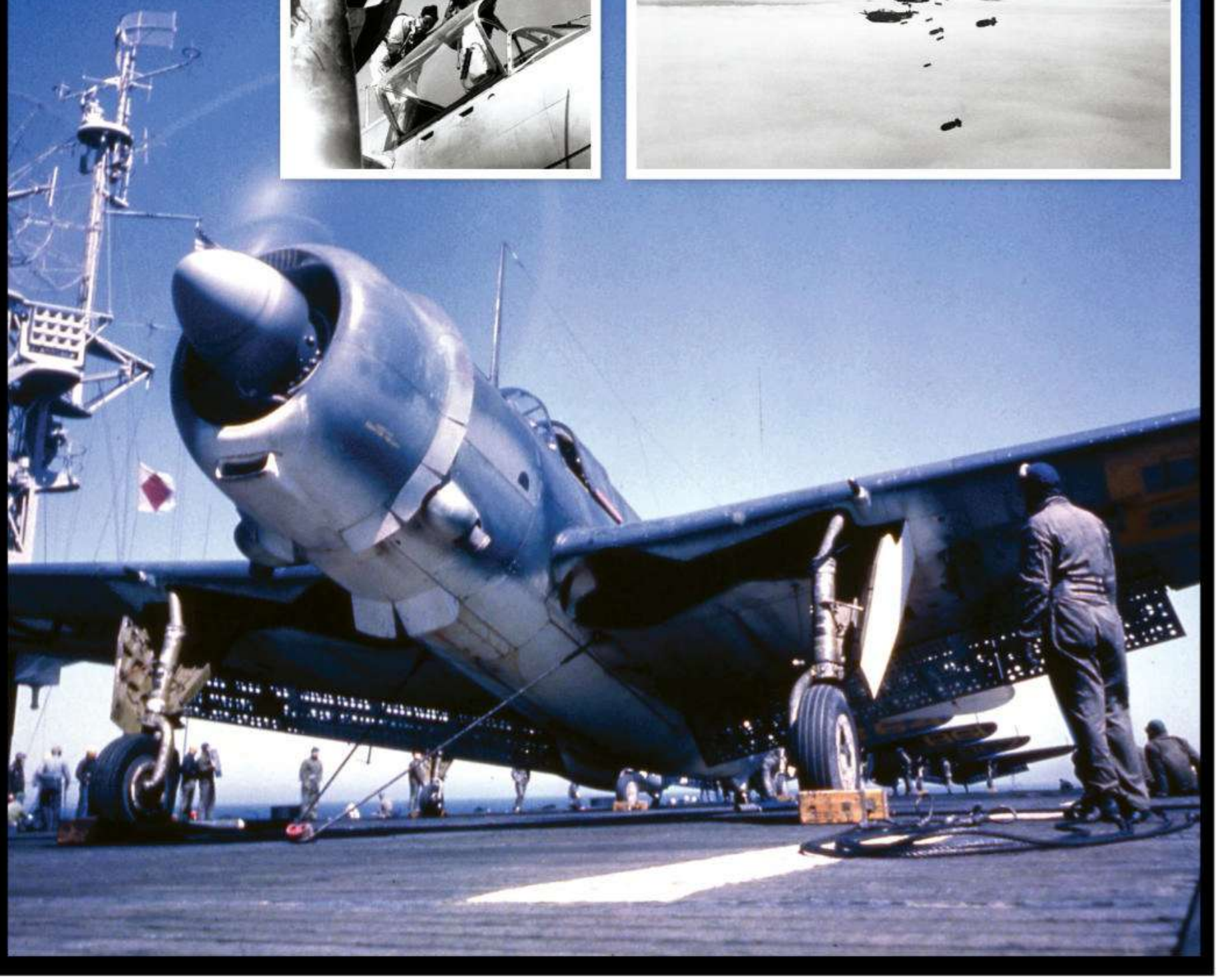
The Helldiver remained in front-line USN service until 1947, and in the reserve to 1950. Small numbers were sold to and used by the Greek, French, Italian, Portuguese and Thai navies into the early 1950s.

A Helldiver strike prepares on the deck of the USS Antietam

***Right:** A Curtiss SB2C Helldiver bomber in Vietnam, March 1954*

***Far right:** US Navy Grumman TBM-3 Avengers and Curtiss SB2C Helldivers from the aircraft carrier USS Essex dropping bombs on Hakodate, Japan, July 1945*

***Below:** A Helldiver lines up for takeoff*



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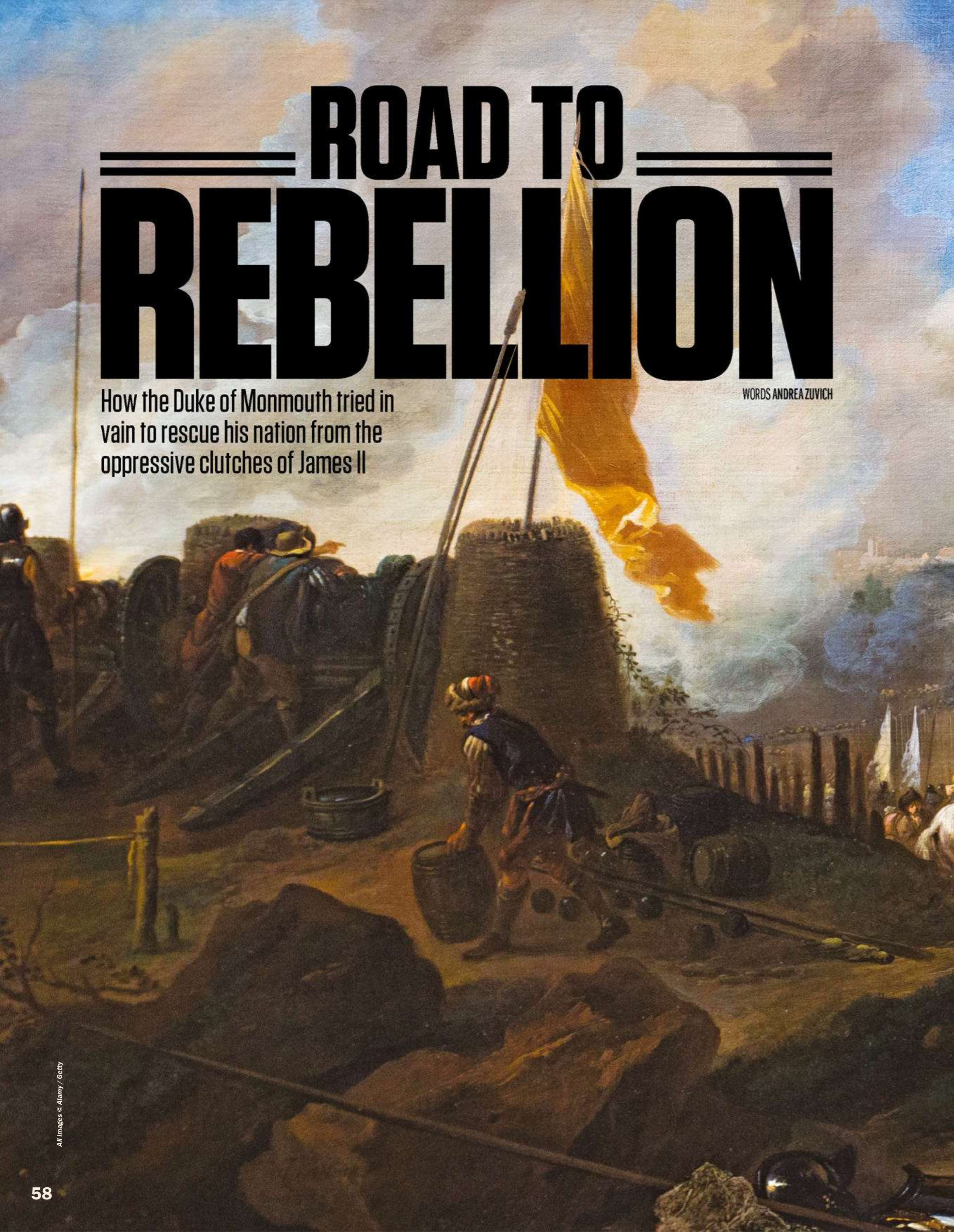
ROAD TO REBELLION

How the Duke of Monmouth tried in vain to rescue his nation from the oppressive clutches of James II

WORDS ANDREA ZUVICH



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This year marks the 337th anniversary of the Monmouth Rebellion of 1685. Led by James Scott, Duke of Monmouth – the glamorous and popular eldest son of King Charles II – it was a rebellion against Charles' successor, James II of England.

In February 1685, Charles II died after a horrendous series of treatments from his physicians following a 'fit of apoplexy' – commonly known as a stroke. Although he had numerous illegitimate offspring, he had no surviving children with his queen, Catherine of Braganza, and so the thrones of England, Scotland and Ireland passed to his younger brother, James, who became King James II of England/VII of Scotland. Within months of James' ascension to the throne, the duke of Monmouth invaded England in a vain attempt to rescue the nation from a return to Catholicism. The rebellion proved an unmitigated disaster and resulted in harsh punishment meted out at what has come to be known as the Bloody Assizes.

James Scott, Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch, was the eldest illegitimate son of Charles II and his Welsh mistress, Lucy Walter. Born in Rotterdam in April 1649, while the king was in exile and only three months after the execution of his grandfather, Charles I, young Monmouth's future was uncertain. Monmouth was a reckless character, a poor student and prone to violence, indulging in debauchery and involving himself in political intrigues. Despite all this, he was also one of the most capable military leaders of the Stuart era. He commanded the Household Cavalry from 1668 to 1679, took charge troops during the Third Anglo-Dutch War in 1672, fought bravely at the Siege of Maastricht in 1673, and led troops to victory over rebellious Covenanters at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge in 1679.

Charles II had him married to the incredibly wealthy Scottish heiress, Anna Scott, when he was nearly 14 and she was 12. Very much like his own father, Monmouth was not faithful to his wife and had a string of liaisons, most notably with Eleanor Needham – the daughter of Sir Robert Needham of Lambeth which resulted in three illegitimate children – and later, Henrietta Wentworth, the sixth baroness of Wentworth.

As for his relationship with his father, Monmouth could provoke both the king's anger and his intense love and forgiveness – and Monmouth's bad behaviour and involvement in political intrigues resulted in his being exiled from court several times.

As early as the 1660s, rumours about Monmouth becoming Charles' heir were being spread, as evidenced by naval administrator and diarist Samuel Pepys: "The duke of Monmouth is in so great splendour at court, and so dandled by the king, that some doubt, if the king should have no child by the queen (which there is yet no appearance of), whether he would not be acknowledged for a lawful son." As such rumours of Monmouth's possibly legitimacy continued swirling about,

Charles II affirmed that he had not married Lucy Walter and that his only legal wife was his present wife, Queen Catherine. That made his brother was the rightful heir.

But James had made some notably unpopular decisions, especially when it came to his choices of wife and religion. He married twice, first to Anne Hyde, with whom he had two surviving daughters, Mary and Anne, both of which would eventually succeed him as queens. Upon the death of the first duchess of York from breast cancer, he married the Italian princess, Mary of Modena. Both of these marital unions were controversial, the first because Anne was a commoner and had been a mere lady-in-waiting to his sister, Mary of Orange, the second because Mary of Modena was a foreign bride and a Catholic to boot. But it was James' implacable nature combined with his fervent Catholicism that would ultimately make him unpopular with both noble and peasant alike.

James' character was very different from Monmouth's, who was admired for his ability to comfortably talk with anyone – of high rank or low – and the fact that he was a Protestant made him even more palatable. John Evelyn, writing about Monmouth in 1679, stated: "This duke, whom for distinction they called the Protestant duke (though the son of an abandoned woman), the people made their idol." The importance of religion in Stuart Britain cannot be emphasised enough. Following fast upon the heels of the Popish Plot, there was a movement in the early 1680s to deny James a place in the line of succession due to his religion, and this culminated in the Exclusion Crisis in which the Exclusion Bill was paramount. This bill was an attempt to legally prevent James from becoming king.

In 1683, a Protestant plot was uncovered, in which both Charles II and his brother, James, Duke of York, were to be assassinated on their way back from the racing town of Newmarket. This plot came to be known as the Rye House Plot, and several people were implicated, including the duke of Monmouth, Lord Russell, Forde Grey, Algernon Sidney, Robert Ferguson and Arthur Capell, 1st earl of Essex, among others. Sidney and Russell were among those who were executed, and Russell received a posthumous pardon during the reign of William and Mary. Essex died after he had his throat cut with his razor in prison, an incident reported as having been self-inflicted, but some then and now believe he was murdered. Several others fled to the continent. Monmouth, on the other hand, was exiled but then welcomed back – another example of Charles' tendency to forgive him for his frequent transgressions.

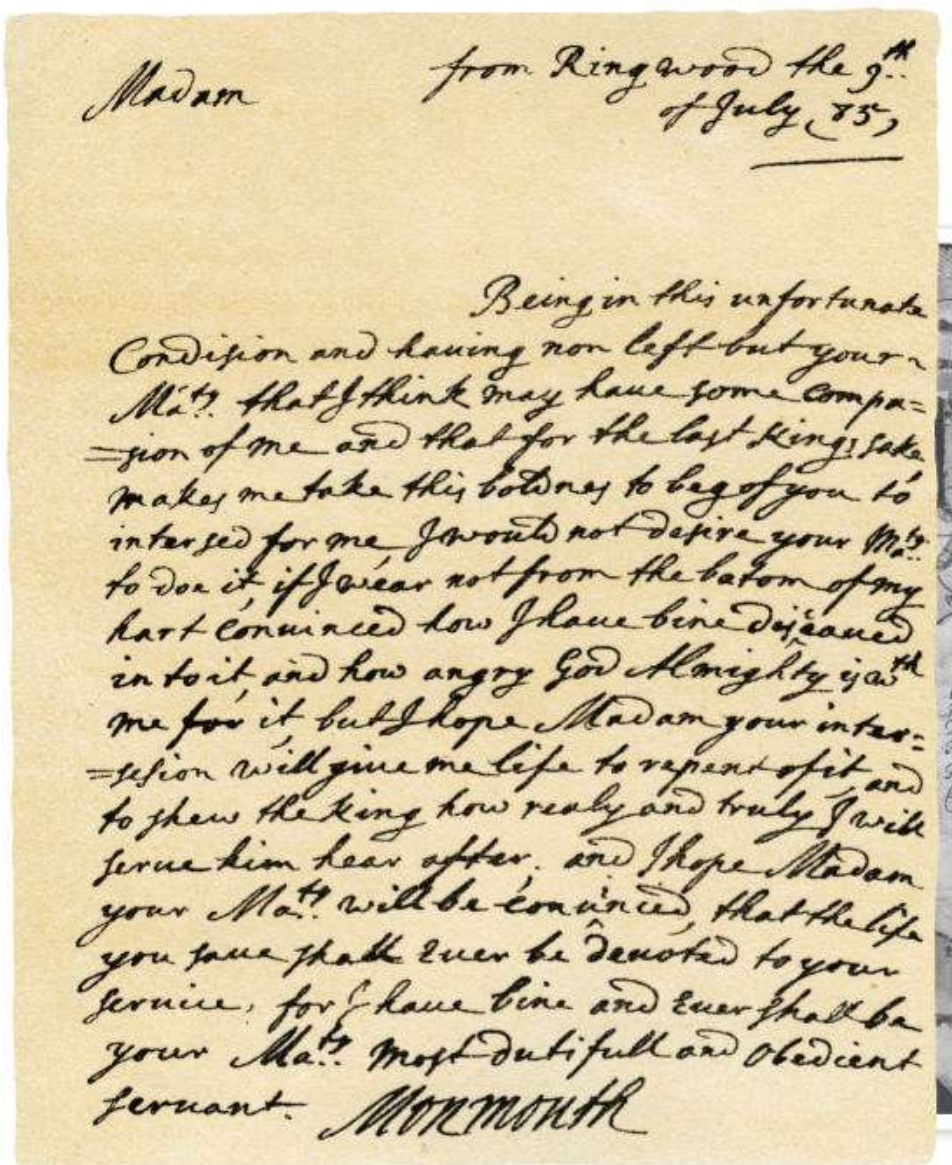
At the time of Charles II's death in February 1685, Monmouth was once again in exile, this time in the Dutch Republic as a guest at the court of William III of Orange and Mary, his cousins, where they feted him and lodged him in the Mauritshuis in the Hague. Upon hearing of his father's death, Monmouth was genuinely overcome with grief, but his thoughts quickly turned from sorrow to conspiracy. He accused his uncle, James, of poisoning his father, and this accusation of murder would be clearly stated in Monmouth's Declaration later on. William of Orange, now housing a potential rival of the new king, felt obliged to ask his cousin to leave his court. But first, William warned Monmouth not to get involved in political intrigues against their uncle, and indeed, Monmouth would have been wise to heed this advice and stay in exile.

He departed from the Dutch Republic and went to Brussels, where he was soon surrounded by exiled Whigs and conspirators, including two exiled Rye House Plotters, Forde Grey and Robert Ferguson. Monmouth, always a rather malleable fellow, soon became susceptible to the influence of those around him. This, combined with his own ambition, set him on a course for destruction. Lady Henrietta Wentworth of Toddington Manor in Bedfordshire, his mistress with whom he was living in exile, sold her jewels in order to help fund Monmouth's expedition.

In his *History Of The Rye House Plot And Of Monmouth's Rebellion*, Monmouth's former friend and fellow rebel Forde, Lord Grey, Earl of Tankerville, wrote: "My lord Argyll came in a day or two, and waited on the duke of Monmouth at Mr Dare's, where I then lodged with him: many Scotch gentlemen accompanied my lord, who, after the ceremony of a short visit, withdrew; my lord refusing to acquaint anybody with the particulars of his design, but the duke of Monmouth… After my lord Argyll was gone, the duke of Monmouth told me he was abundantly satisfied with my lord Argyll's design, and the method he intended to use in the execution; that he had provided 9-10,000 barrels of powder, a sufficient quantity of bullet, and many other things necessary for war."

The plan was, as related by Grey above, for Monmouth's forces to invade from the Protestant stronghold of the West Country (where Monmouth was popular), take the wealthy port city of Bristol, and join up with the duke of Argyll's rebel forces who would head south from Scotland, at which point they would combine forces and take London and overthrow James II and replace him with King Monmouth.

"HIS STANDARD HAD THE WORDS 'FEAR NOTHING BUT GOD' EMBLAZONED ACROSS IT"



Madam from Ringwood the 9th of July 85

Being in this unfortunate Condition and having non left but your Maty that I think may have some compassion of me and that for the last kings sake makes me take this boldness to beg of you to interced for me I would not desire your Maty to doe it if I fear not from the bottom of my hart convinced how I have bine deluded in to it and how angry God Almighty is with me for it but I hope Madam your intercession will give me life to repent of it and to shew the king how ready and truly I will serve him hear after. and I hope Madam your Maty will be convinced, that the life you save shall ever be devoted to your service, for I have bine and ever shall be your Maty most dutifull and obedient servant. MONMOUTH

***Left:** A letter James Scott wrote to Charles II's wife, Catherine of Braganza, following his failed insurrection*

***Below:** A contemporary map showing the placement of troops at the Battle of Sedgemoor*

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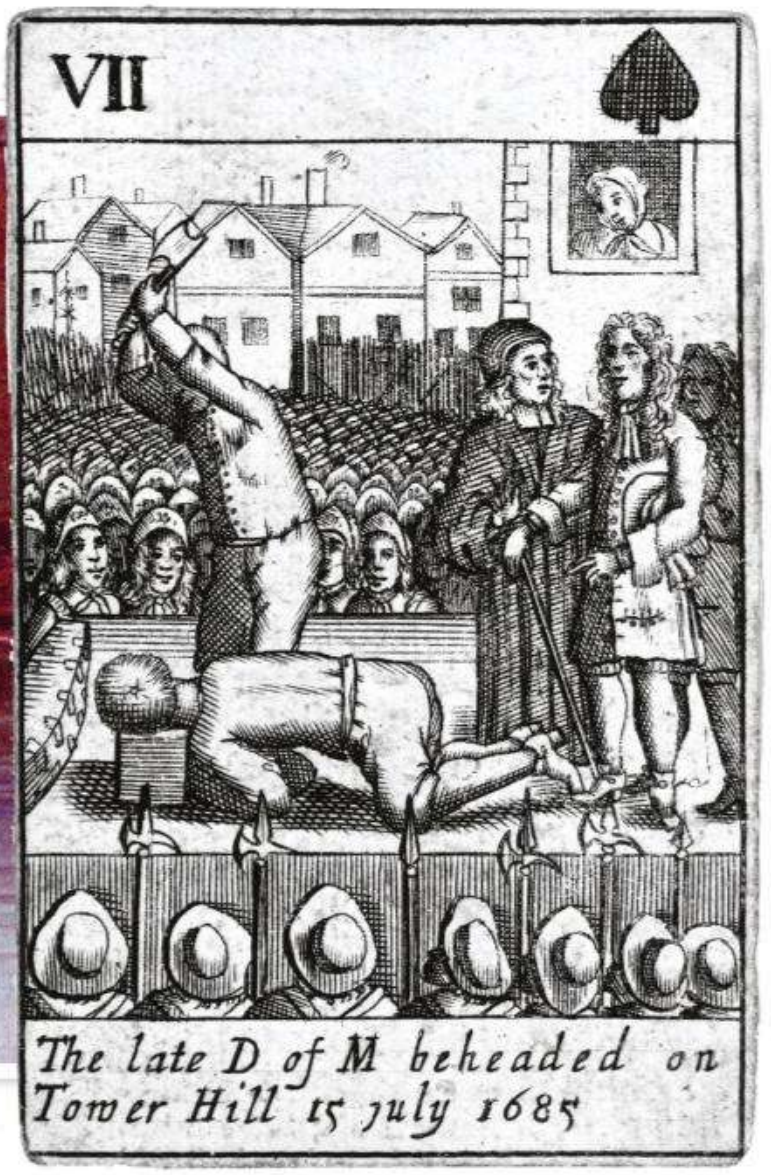
King James II and VII, as painted while he was still Duke of York by Sir Peter Lely in 1661

An anonymous painting of Monmouth pleading with King James II



A contemporary playing card depicting the botched execution of the duke of Monmouth

The duke of Argyll sailed to Scotland first. On 24 May Monmouth sailed from Amsterdam with an insignificant group of forces (some 80-odd followers) and three ships. From the Texel, Monmouth and his followers crossed the English Channel and on 11 June landed at Lyme Regis, where he was welcomed with great joy by the Protestants there.

Not everyone was pleased, however, for the mayor quickly headed towards London to inform the king about this invasion. Hundreds of volunteers from towns such as Colyton, Honiton and Chard travelled to join in Monmouth's fight to claim the throne against his uncle. Most of those who joined Monmouth were farmers, labourers and artisans – many of whom had never fought before. There was a pitiful amount of muskets and a great many of the rebels were armed with pitchforks, clubs, billhooks and other such crude types of weaponry. This is the reason why the rebellion is sometimes referred to as The Pitchfork Rebellion. The rebels began their preparations and Monmouth began training the volunteers. Monmouth's standard had the words "Fear Nothing But God" emblazoned across it.

In his declaration, Monmouth didn't pull any punches against his uncle: "We do hereby solemnly declare and proclaim war against JD of Y as a murderer, and an assassin of innocent men, a traitor to the nation, and a tyrant over the people." Here James II is referred to as James, Duke of York, blatantly disregarding the fact he was now king. The Declaration was read out in the Lyme marketplace so that those who could not read it, as the majority of people were illiterate, would know what his intentions were. Those who did choose to follow the rebel duke were more willing to fight and die for a Protestant bastard than a Catholic king – especially one whose preferences for selecting Catholics into powerful positions in government sat uneasily with them.

Several decades later in 1716, *An Account Of The Proceedings Against The Rebels, And Other Prisoners, Tried Before The Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys, And Other Judges In The West Of England, In 1685, For Taking Arms Under The Duke Of Monmouth*, religion was maintained as one of the main causes of the 1685 rebellion: "Those who join'd the duke of Monmouth did not do it till after King James II had declared himself a Papist, and contrary to Law encourag'd those of his own persuasion to set up their Worship publickly, and he had likewise in an arbitrary and tyrannical Manner invaded our Civil Liberties, as may be seen by the duke of Monmouth's Declaration, and that of the earl of Argyle." These people were Protestant and were unwilling to serve a Catholic king, preferring the Protestant duke instead, even if he was illegitimate. "Long live King Monmouth and the Protestant cause," shouted his followers. At least one of Monmouth's followers, a merchant named Robert Hoare, thought they could win without much fighting at all and that the opposition would naturally join in their cause. This naive optimism was soon to be proved ill-founded.

King James wasted no time in the fightback against his traitorous nephew and his rebels. Monmouth and his poorly trained, poorly equipped and largely ill-disciplined troops were no match for the well-trained and more numerous royalist troops commanded by Lord Feversham and John Churchill, who was second in command. The latter would eventually become the 1st duke of Marlborough and is often referred to as one of the greatest military commanders in British history. James also sent his nephew, Monmouth's half-brother, the duke of Grafton to help crush this Western Rising.

After a few days in Lyme, the rebels marched to Charmouth, then Chideok and then to Bridport, where they had their first (and successful) skirmish with the royalist militia. From there they moved on to Axminster, where some royalist militia men deserted to join the rebels, then to Chard, Ilminster and then to Taunton where Monmouth was declared king. Next, the rebels marched to Bridgwater (where there remains a great deal of historical sites relating to this rebellion) and up through the Mendip Hills towards Bath. It was in the approach to this place that Monmouth and his rebels began to get some serious trouble and, after several skirmishes with royalist forces, were forced to retreat back to the Bridgwater area. A major blow came in the form of news from Scotland – Argyll's rebellion was a disaster and the rebellious duke had been beheaded on the maiden.

One of Monmouth's most capable cavalry men, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, shot and killed Thomas Dare, the rebellion's paymaster, and Monmouth was forced to dismiss Fletcher. James II issued a Royal Pardon for those rebels who decided that it was a bad idea. Many took advantage of this and left the rebellion, including a young Daniel Defoe, who later went on to become the author of the famed *Robinson Crusoe, Moll Flanders*, and *A Journal Of A Plague Year*. Things were going downhill quickly and Monmouth was becoming increasingly dejected.

At Bridgwater, Monmouth and Grey entered St Mary's Church, which has a high tower that is now known as Monmouth's Tower. They climbed the 90 steps to the top and there, with his spyglass, had a look at the royalist encampment in the distance. Although it's hard to see much from that spot now, since Bridgwater has been built up over the past few centuries, Monmouth was probably given a good enough view to help him decide what to do next. The rebellious duke, who had a good deal of military experience, decided his rebellion had one last chance: a surprise attack under cover of night. The horses' hooves had been muffled with rags to ensure a stealthy attack.

An anonymous engraving showing the Battle of Sedgemoor

All came to an end upon Somerset's agricultural fields at the Battle of Sedgemoor in the morning of 5 July 1685. The remnants of Monmouth's rebel forces were destroyed, and on this field of slaughter there now stands a memorial. Monmouth, who now had a £5,000 price on his head, was among a handful who fled the scene, knowing full well that imprisonment and probable death awaited those who were captured.

Things weren't over for those who survived the carnage of the Battle of Sedgemoor. Approximately 1,300 rebels were captured in and around the Sedgemoor area and many of them were hauled into the nearby church in Westonzoyland, from which some were taken outside and summarily executed. Others were taken before Judge Jeffreys in what became known as the Bloody Assizes because of the heavy-handed nature of the sentences passed under the notorious 'Hanging Judge'. There remains some question as to whether Jeffreys was harsh on his own, or if he was commanded to do this by the king himself. Of these, over 300 were executed (usually by hanging, hence Jeffreys' grim soubriquet) and over 700 were transported into an existence tantamount to slavery in the plantations of the New World. Some were more fortunate. Nathaniel Wade, who had fought as a rebel at Sedgemoor, was captured and his narrative is considered one of the best accounts of the rebellion. For his full confession and cooperation, he was pardoned and lived until 1718. The same went for Monmouth's former friend, Forde Grey, 1st Earl of Tankerville, who lived until 1701.

As for the dashing duke of Monmouth, he met a truly grim fate. After being taken to the Tower of London where he was given one last audience with his wife, Anna, and their children, and a meeting with his uncle the king, he was destined for a traitor's death. Charles II's widow, Catherine of Braganza, wrote to the king to plead for Monmouth's life to be spared, but James would not

"THE REBELLION HAD ONE LAST CHANCE: A SURPRISE ATTACK UNDER COVER OF NIGHT"

acquiesce. Monmouth's executioner, Jack Ketch, who normally executed criminals by hanging them, was a blunderer when it came to wielding the axe. He had previously been assigned to execute Lord Russell following the Rye House Plot of 1683 and it took three blows with his axe before the man's head was struck from his body.

Monmouth was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 15 July 1685 in what has become known as one of the most gruesome botched executions in Tower history. Accounts vary, but it took at least five swings of the axe, plus cutting the remaining sinews with a knife, before the duke's head was finally severed. The spectators were aghast at Ketch's incompetence and were on the verge of becoming violent towards him.

To this day, Monmouth's name is on a plaque on Tower Hill, a memorial that bears the names of other historic persons who died on that spot over the centuries. His mutilated body was taken back into the Tower of London and laid to rest in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula, close to the remains of Henry VIII's executed wives Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard.

In his book, *Marlborough As Military Commander*, historian David Chandler postulated that the outcome of the Monmouth Rebellion might have been altogether different had Monmouth only waited a year or so. At this point, so the theory goes, the initial support for the king would have declined enough to potentially make a rebellion successful. Following the defeat of his nephew and the rebellion, the king commissioned medals to be struck in commemoration of his triumph. These coins can be seen in the Blake Museum in Bridgwater and depict the figure of Victory standing over the beheaded corpses of Monmouth and Argyll and holding the scales of justice in one hand and a sword in the other. James even commissioned the Italian Baroque composer Giovanni Battista Vitali to compose an oratorio to celebrate his victory over Monmouth, entitled, *L'ambitione Debellata Ovvero La Caduta Di Monmouth*, also known as *Ambition Eradicated, Or The Fall Of Monmouth*. For these things James may well be accused of gloating, but all such gloating ceased less than three years later.

Although the Monmouth Rebellion was an unmitigated failure, it had nevertheless proved that there was discontent in the country with James' Catholicism. Only three years later, his throne was successfully taken (or usurped) by William and Mary – James' nephew/son-in-law and daughter – in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Once again, religion was of extreme importance. Although there were some in government who had personal reservations about James II and VII's religious proclivities, they were content that Mary of Modena was probably not going to give birth to a son and Mary of York (William III's wife) would be queen after her father's death.

This idea was dashed when Mary of Modena gave birth to a healthy son, James Francis Edward Stuart in the summer of 1688. A Catholic succession was ensured and this was the impetus for the 'Immortal Seven' (seven of some of the most influential, powerful men in Britain) to formally invite William of Orange to invade.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688-89 was a major turning point for British history. Monmouth's doomed attempt doubtless passed through William of Orange's mind as he crossed the Channel. Unlike Monmouth, however, William had a large army and greater support for his invasion than Monmouth.

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FIVE HISTORY LESSONS FOR PUTIN

Dr Mark Galeotti is an honorary professor at University College London's School of Slavonic & East European Studies and has published numerous books on Russian security, foreign policy and state criminality. An expert on the Russosphere, both past and present, his latest book, *Putin's Wars*, analyses how President Vladimir Putin's military campaigns have reshaped the nation and the world. In light of Russia's globally condemned invasion of neighbouring Ukraine, here he gives his assessment of the lessons that the president ought to have learned from his country's own military history, from Nicholas II to Ivan 'the Terrible'.

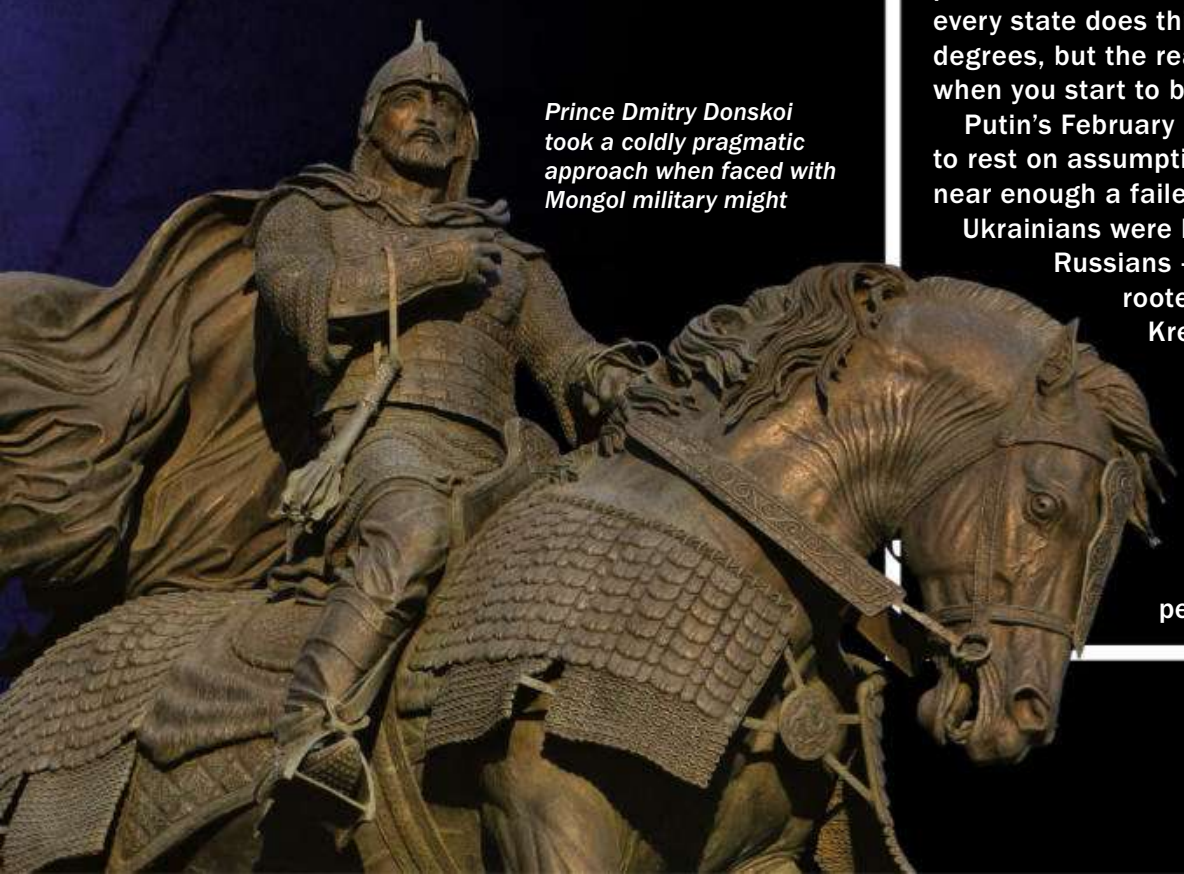
Dr Galeotti argues that Russia's leader has much to learn from his predecessors' own military disasters

Vladimir Putin is well-known for his interest in history. It is one of the few things he apparently reads, and he peppers his speeches with references to past Russian heroes, triumphs and challenges. Indeed, he has paralleled himself variously to such past figures as Tsar Peter the Great, the 18th-century monarch who battled Sweden, then the great Nordic military power of the age, and Petr Stolypin, the early 20th-century prime minister who combined a commitment to reforming his country with the ruthless suppression of the 1905 Revolution.

That said, Putin is also a strikingly poor historian. He has produced lengthy essays on Russia's relationship with Ukraine, meant to justify his war, that are as stylistically wooden as they are historically dubious, cherry-picking evidence that seems to fit his argument, and stripping them of context and nuance. He has also encouraged a national narrative of struggle and victory focused on war, with World War II – the Great Patriotic War in Russian parlance – as the centrepiece of a heroic tale of military glory. Parade uniforms blend tsarist and Stalin-era aesthetics, school playgrounds feature (deactivated) anti-tank guns of the time, and television channels like the Ministry of Defence's Zvezda (Star) serve up an almost unbroken diet of war films.

In this context, it is all the more striking just how far Putin has also managed to misunderstand or ignore so many of the lessons of Russia's military history, and particularly those learned or understood by five of his predecessors, from the 14th to the 20th century, in his drive to build a great 21st-century military power.

"PUTIN HAS PRODUCED LENGTHY ESSAYS ON RUSSIA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH UKRAINE, MEANT TO JUSTIFY HIS WAR, THAT ARE AS STYLISTICALLY WOODEN AS THEY ARE HISTORICALLY DUBIOUS"



Prince Dmitry Donskoi took a coldly pragmatic approach when faced with Mongol military might

Dmitry's victory at Kulikovo temporarily halted the Golden Horde's invasion

1 PRINCE DMITRY DONSKOI
DON'T BELIEVE YOUR OWN MYTHS

With its social media 'troll farms' pumping out dubious and disruptive content and its tightening grip on journalism at home, Putin's Russia has embraced the weaponisation of disinformation in the internet age. There has also been a concerted effort to create narratives that justify Putin's actions and present Russia in the best light. Of course, every state does this to greater or lesser degrees, but the real problem with this is when you start to believe your own myths.

Putin's February 2022 invasion seemed to rest on assumptions about Ukraine being near enough a failed state and that the Ukrainians were likely to welcome the Russians – assumptions that were rooted not in reality but in the Kremlin's own propaganda.

Putin could have taken the example of Dmitry Donskoi to heart. A 14th-century prince of Moscow during the time in which Russia was ruled by the Mongols, he had been perfectly happy to be one of their local agents until political squabbles in Sarai, capital of the Golden Horde, forced him into rebellion. He assembled the forces of Moscow's allies and clients and, thanks to hard fighting and some cunning subterfuge, was able to beat a larger force under Mongol leader Mamai at Kulikovo in 1380.

Dmitry was a politician through-and-through and had made sure that he had both friendly merchants and representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church to hand to spread the tale of victory and to present it as a convincing blow for Russian freedom. This became a foundational tale of Russia's emergence as a nation, under Moscow.

Dmitry, though, was smart enough not to fall for his own line. When Mamai's rival and successor Tokhtamysh returned with a new army the following year, Dmitry made few efforts to resist. Moscow was sacked and burned, Dmitry hurriedly reaffirmed his submission to the Golden Horde, and it would be another century before the Russians threw off the so-called 'Mongol Yoke' – but thanks to Dmitry's cold-eyed realism, Moscow remained the heart of the new state.

Images: Alamy, Getty

2 TSAR IVAN ‘THE TERRIBLE’
DON’T PUNCH ABOVE YOUR WEIGHT

Putin has often been described as punching above his weight, taking a country with a GDP roughly equivalent to Spain’s (although the measure is admittedly deceptive) and a defence budget that equals Britain’s (although this is even more deceptive, as it is based on ruble-to-pound exchange rates) and making people treat it like a great military power. For years, this stood him in good stead, allowing him to face down the West and play a disproportionate role on the world stage. However, eventually this does mean that others will take your posturing at face value, and you will find yourself treated accordingly.

Ivan IV, known as Grozny – usually translated as ‘the Terrible’, although ‘the Dread’ or even ‘the Awesome’ are more accurate – was at once the maker of the Russian state and almost its breaker. Although the public image is shaped by his latter years, as he descended into violent and paranoid madness, the first part of his 16th-century reign was marked by the foundation of many of the institutions of today’s Russian state. For example the modern MVD, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, is an evolution of his Banditry Office, just as MID, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, explicitly dates itself back to his Ambassadors’ Office. Ivan also established Russia’s first standing army, the Streltsy (‘Shooters’ or ‘Musketeers’), and invested heavily in what would become a traditional Russian strength – artillery.

He used these in a variety of foreign wars, including the successful conquest of the Kazan Khanate in 1551-52. However, his expansionism and the rising profile of Muscovy’s military power meant that, like it or not, he became embroiled in struggles with nations rather more formidable than the khanates of the east. Ivan would fight wars over Astrakhan with Turkey (1568-70) and Livonia with a shifting coalition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Sweden and other allies (1558-83) in just a prelude to what would be a series of subsequent conflicts, many of which would end badly for Russia. Ivan had wanted Russia to be a player on a wider stage, but he should have thought twice as to what this meant, as it meant Moscow was now up against great powers with capabilities beyond its reach.

The expansionist ambitions of Ivan ‘the Terrible’ saw Russia pick fights that it couldn’t win

3 TSAR PETER THE GREAT
DON’T FORGET TO MODERNISE

Peter was obsessed with the notion of Russia finally becoming a naval power. To this end he even became the first tsar to travel beyond Russia’s borders: his Grand Embassy of 9 March 1697 to 25 August 1698 was a diplomatic mission that saw him travel to both the Netherlands and England, the pre-eminent maritime nations of the time. In London, between marvelling at parliament (although deciding that “English freedom is not appropriate” for Russia), he visited the royal dockyards at Deptford, studied how modern naval artillery was made and used at Woolwich Arsenal, and hired engineers who would be able to help him build his fleet. By the time of his death, Russia had a navy with 32 ships of the line and over 100 other vessels.

However, the point was precisely that Peter was looking for technologies, skills and even weapons that could effectively be bought ‘off the shelf’. Although he strived to make Russia look more modern, demanding that his nobles affected European dress and shave their beards, and hiring Italian and French architects to build his new capital of St Petersburg, he never seriously addressed the structural constraints that prevented Russia from developing. Too often, he was simply relying on what he could buy and copy from the West rather than build the kind of scientific and cultural capital to allow Russia to compete. Therefore Peter’s Russia – like Putin’s – was condemned always to lag behind the most modern technologies and forced to rely on quantity when it could not compete in technology.

Abraham Storck’s depiction of Peter the Great’s visit to England in January 1698

Nicholas I is shown here sending the first telegraph message from St Petersburg to Warsaw

4 TSAR NICHOLAS I
PLUG THE TECHNOLOGY GAP

In Ukraine, the influx of NATO weapons and Russia's need to raid old stockpiles to arm new units mean that just as Kyiv is beginning to field a 21st-century army, Moscow's is sliding back into the 20th. Mobile, long-range rocket systems such as US HIMARS and British-supplied M270s mean that Russian artillery and supply lines are now being hit almost with impunity, while Javelin and NLAW missiles have neutralised much of Russia's vaunted tank fleet.

This is hardly the first time a technology gap has been crucial. In the Crimean War (1853-56), the armies of Tsar Nicholas I found themselves facing the most advanced European military powers of the time, Britain and France. Steamships, railways and telegraphs enabled the allies to supply, reinforce and coordinate their armies much more effectively. Rifles such as the British Enfield and French Minié had a massive advantage in range and accuracy over the old-fashioned muskets most of the Russian soldiers were still using.

Meanwhile, in the northern naval operations to blockade Russian trade ports – which were actually of much greater significance than the bloody side-show in Crimea – the gap between naval technologies was just as obvious. This was apparent in 1854, when an Anglo-French flotilla was able to destroy Bomarsund fort on the Russian-held Finnish Åland islands with humiliating ease, as their cannon outranged even the heavy coastal guns in the fort.

Nicholas was a soldier by training and had already been concerned about the security implications of Russia's growing backwardness. He had toyed with fundamental reform to try and modernise and industrialise the country, but held back for fear that it would destabilise the state. He died during the war and his successor, Alexander II, embarked on a serious although ultimately incomplete effort to address this – albeit one which did indeed stir up serious unrest and the terrorist movement that assassinated him in 1881.

5 TSAR NICHOLAS II
THE DANGERS OF COMMAND

Nicholas I was an unbending martinet, but he was at least a trained soldier; his namesake, who succeeded to the throne in 1894, demonstrated what could be considered the worst possible combination of being both incompetent and dutiful. Nicholas II had the misfortune to preside over a Russian Empire that was increasingly anachronistic, which was going through a belated and partial industrialisation that at once undermined the old order without having yet been able to bring forth something new. A disastrous war with Japan (1904-5), which Russia had expected to be an easy triumph, showed how even to the east Russia faced powers which were modernising more quickly.

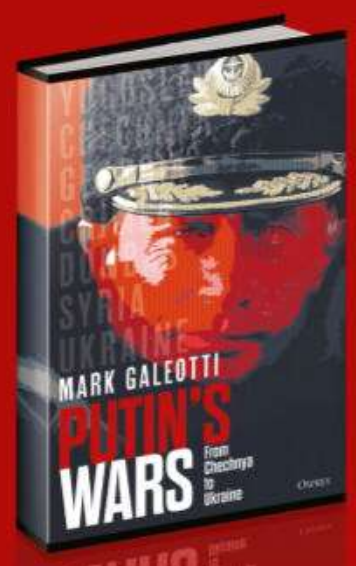
When Russia became embroiled in World War I in 1914, again the technology gap would prove crucial, as German machine guns and rapid-fire cannon decimated Nicholas' forces. In September 1915, he fatefully made himself commander-in-chief, both because he felt it his duty and also because he hoped that the glory of what he still believed would be a Russian victory could help salvage the legitimacy of his regime. Instead, he became associated with bloody defeat after bloody defeat, and appeared to have nothing to offer but the hope that some kind of victory was just over the horizon.

In March 1917 (February by the old calendar Russia still used at the time), while uprisings were ripping through the cities, the tsar's train was stopped at Pskov and a delegation under army commander General Nikolai Ruzsky induced him to abdicate. ("If you do not sign, I will not be responsible for your life," Ruzsky warned.) Tsarism collapsed, the Bolsheviks would subsequently seize power, and Nicholas and his family would be executed in July 1918.

Nicholas II (left) pictured with Russian officers, c.1916. His disastrous leadership as commander-in-chief of the military in WWI led to the collapse of tsarism and bloody revolution

The president of Russia is commander-in-chief, and Putin himself has very clearly made the Ukraine war his own. He even let a meeting of the Security Council, at which he browbeat his senior officials into supporting his line, be televised to underline his own centrality. The whole strategy of the invasion reflected his assumptions about Ukraine rather than the doctrine whereby the generals plan and fight their wars. He thought it would be a quick victory, won in a couple of weeks. Now Putin – like Nicholas II – is at once in command yet unable to develop any kind of strategy seemingly able to turn the war around. A new 'February Revolution' may well be a long way away, if it ever materialises, but nonetheless the fate of the last tsar may prove one last cautionary tale for today's Russian autocrat.

Dr Mark Galeotti is an honorary professor at University College London's School of Slavonic & East European Studies. His latest book, *Putin's Wars: from Chechnya to Ukraine*, released by Bloomsbury, is out now in all good stores



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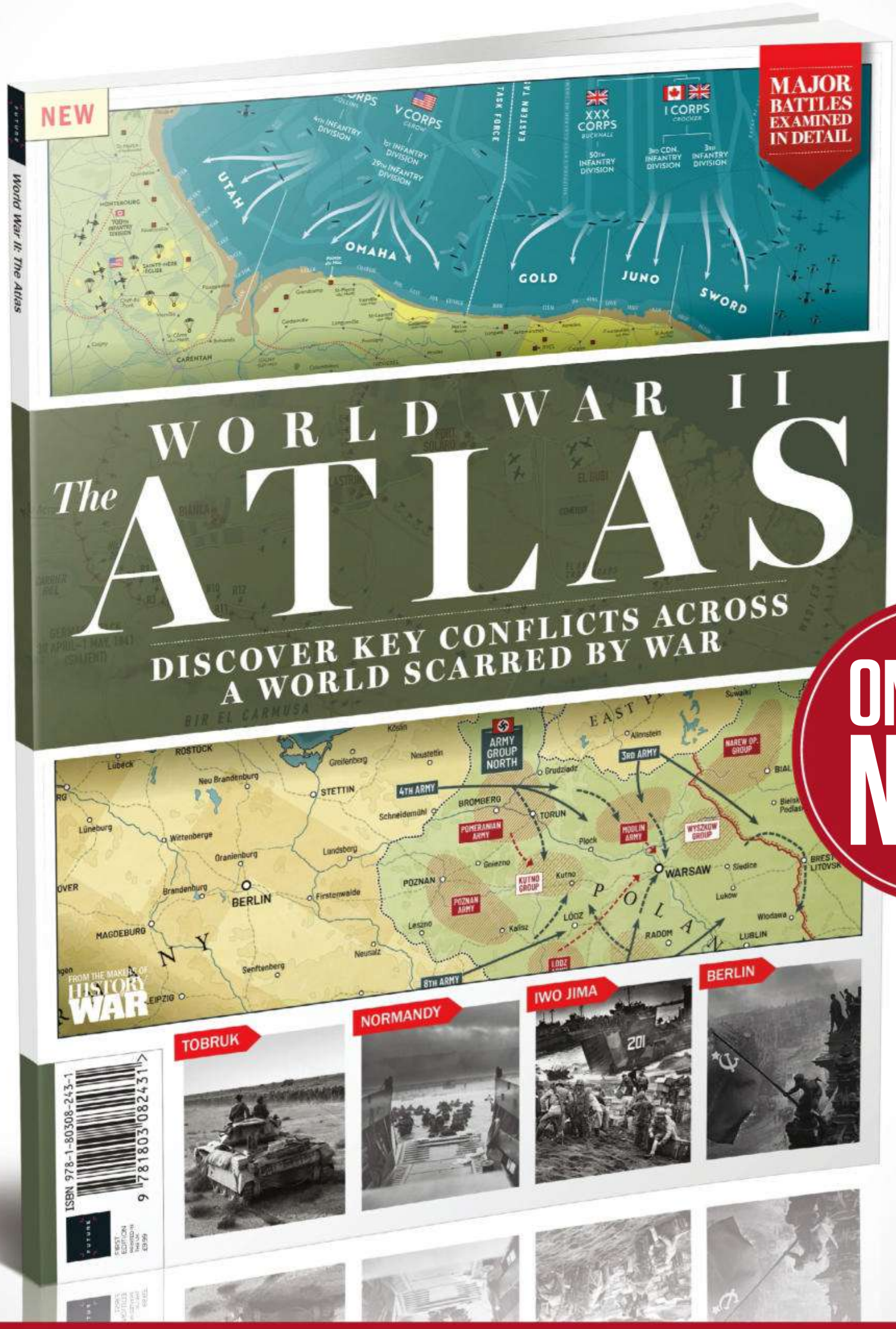

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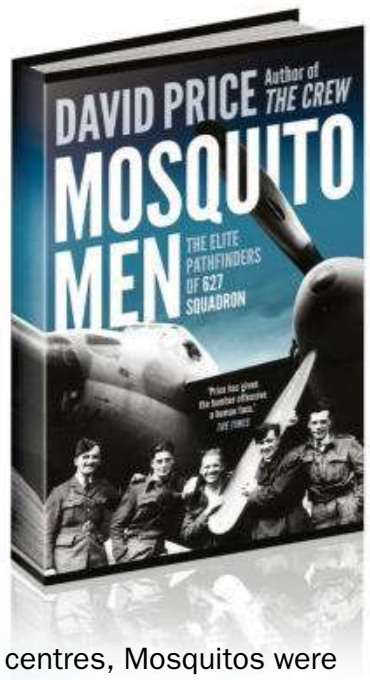

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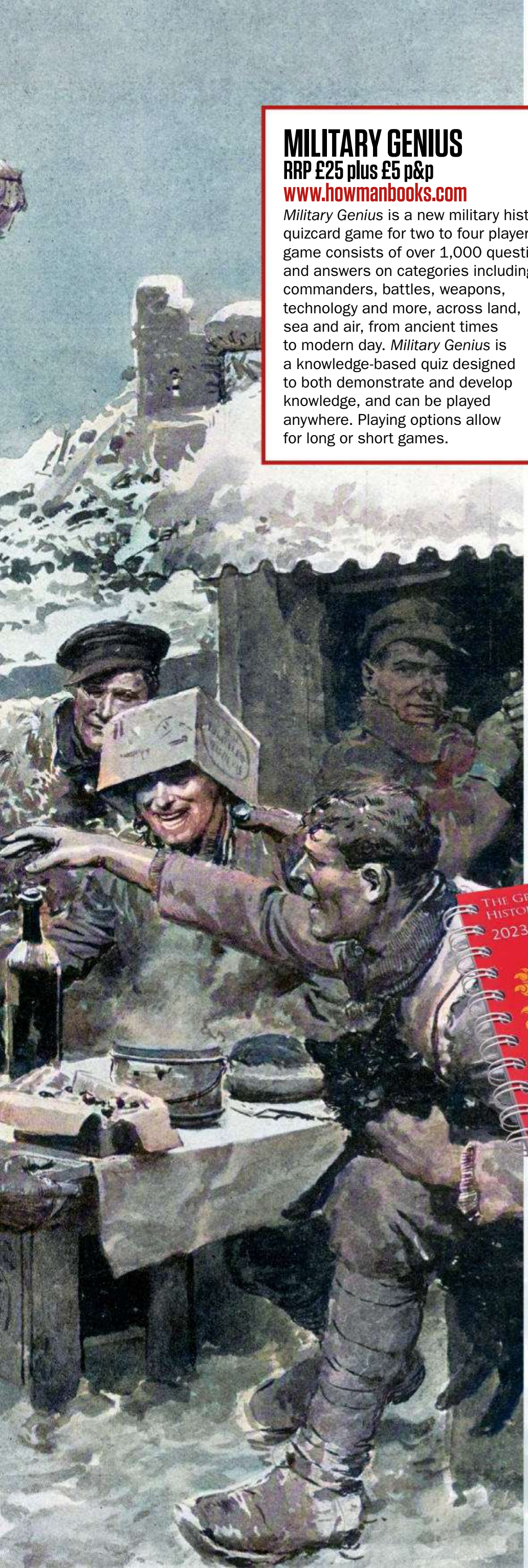

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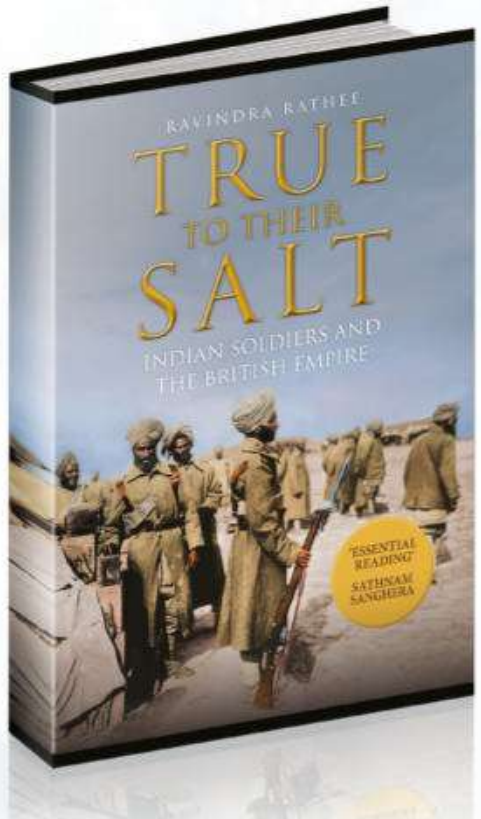
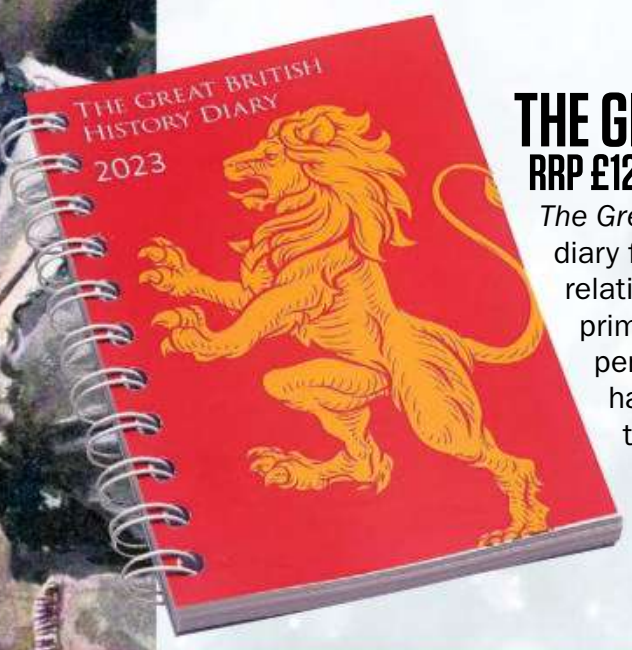
This important new book looks at the crucial role played by Indian soldiers in the foundation, control and expansion of the British Empire. It also argues that this group played a vital role in securing Indian independence from the British.

The first comprehensive single-volume history of India's pre-partition military from Indian soldiers' perspective, written with flair and rich in detail, this book offers a vital new perspective to mark the 75th anniversary of Indian independence. An essential addition to the study of Indian and British history.



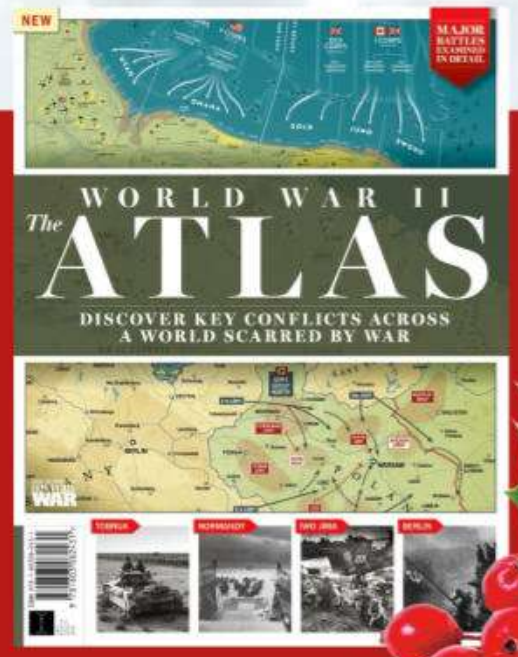


THE GREAT BRITISH HISTORY DIARY 2023
RRP £12 plus £3 p&p www.howmanbooks.com

The Great British History Diary 2023 is an A6 wire-bound diary featuring 30 pages of original articles and data relating to Great Britain (including monarchs, icons, prime ministers, inventions, honours, data), as well as pen sketches of famous Britons. The 160-page diary has a 53-week 'week-to-view' diary section, displaying two British historical dates on each day of the year, and it also contains a 15-page world maps section in full colour.

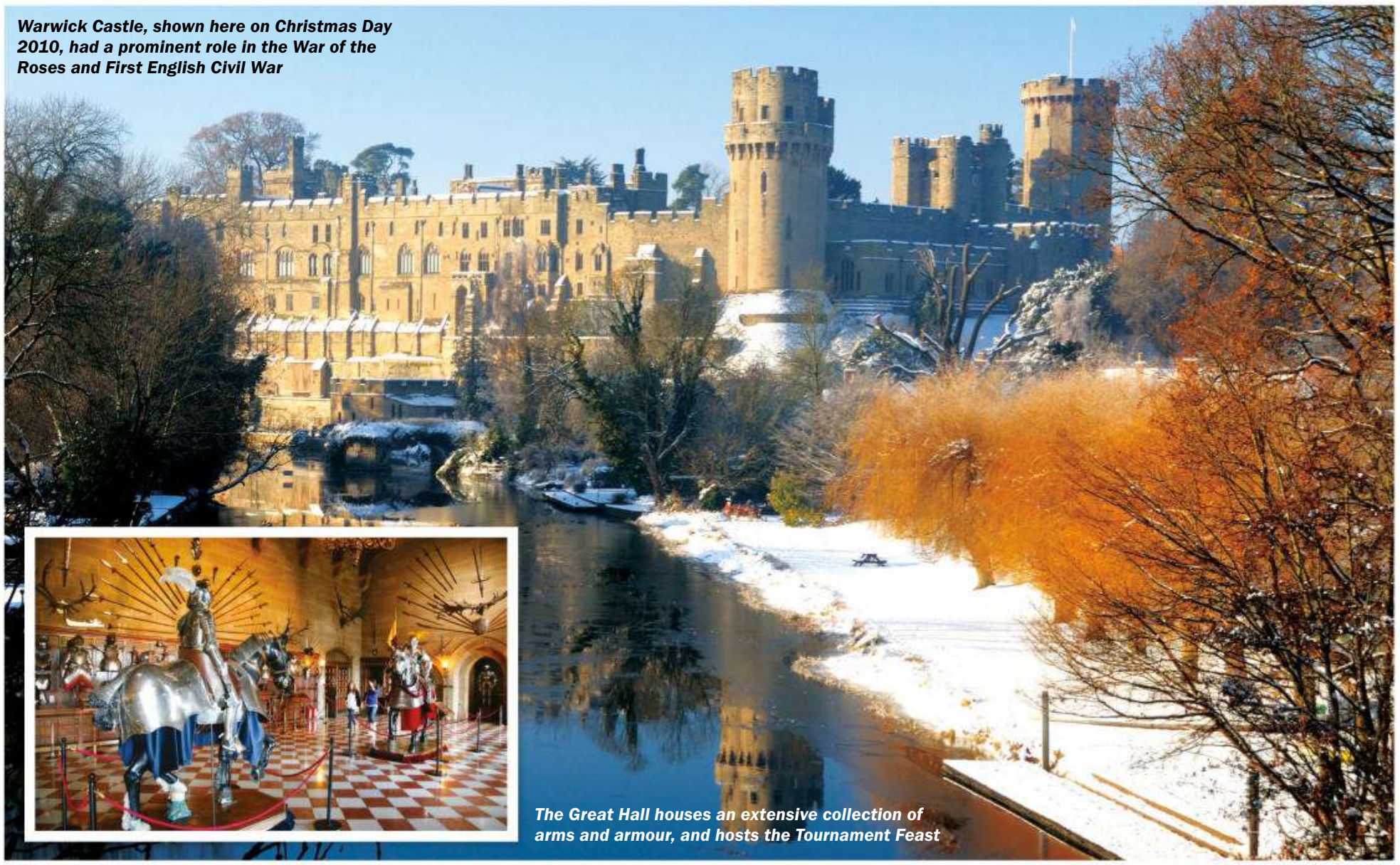
WORLD WAR II: THE ATLAS
RRP £12.99 www.magazinesdirect.com

The Second World War was the most devastating conflict our planet has ever seen. Inside this book, from the makers of ***History of War***, you can take a bird's eye view of the critical battles and a seat in the headquarters of the major campaigns that changed the world. Inside are detailed colour maps and graphics with which you can survey the battlegrounds where the fighting was the fiercest and victories were won, or lost.



MUSEUMS & EVENTS

Discover Warwick Castle's festive programme, Huntingdon's tribute to Old Ironsides and County Donegal's isolated Napoleonic fort



Warwick Castle, shown here on Christmas Day 2010, had a prominent role in the War of the Roses and First English Civil War

The Great Hall houses an extensive collection of arms and armour, and hosts the Tournament Feast

Christmas at the Castle

Warwick Castle decks the halls in style with family friendly activities, feasts and even an ice rink

Originally built by William the Conqueror in 1068 on the banks of the River Avon, Warwick Castle was refortified in the 14th century and is one of the best-preserved medieval fortresses in Europe. It played a prominent part during the War of the Roses, where it was the stronghold of Richard Neville, 16th Earl of Warwick. Better known as Warwick the Kingmaker, the earl imprisoned King Edward IV of England in the castle in 1469 before he was killed at the Battle of Barnet.

Visited by Queen Elizabeth I in 1575, it was subsequently besieged by the Royalists during the First English Civil War. The castle survived intact, and was turned into a luxurious home for later earls of Warwick. It also served as the inspiration for Edoras, the fictional capital of Rohan in JRR Tolkien's novel *The Lord of the Rings*. A tourist attraction since the 19th century, Warwick is now owned by Merlin Entertainments. Although it is a Grade I-listed scheduled monument, the castle is also run as a popular quasi-medieval theme park and is famous for its annual Christmas events.

Christmas at the Castle offers a winter wonderland with twinkling trees, dazzling decorations and many festive flourishes from 26 November 2022 to 2 January 2023. Children can experience Stories with Santa, which is an opportunity to meet Father Christmas and Mrs Claus and listen to a special story of festive hope and joy. Meanwhile, families can journey through the castle's historic grounds and gardens with an after-dark illuminated light trail that lasts for almost an hour. There is also ample opportunity to glide on the magnificent open-air ice rink that is set up each winter in the castle grounds, with each visitor able to book a 45-minute ice skating slot.

A family day out can also be turned into an overnight stay with Santa Sleepovers. On selected winter dates in 2022, families can discover festive flourishes in the cosy Knight's Village. This includes themed evening entertainment, sleigh bell wake-up calls and elves bringing presents for children.

There are also public Christmas parties for adults. Known as the Tournament Feast, these take place in Warwick Castle's magnificent Great Hall where partygoers experience fearless knights of the realm in combat while a three-course dinner is served. The feasts are suitable for groups of up to 30 guests.

For more information on each Christmas event visit www.warwick-castle.com

Fort Dunree

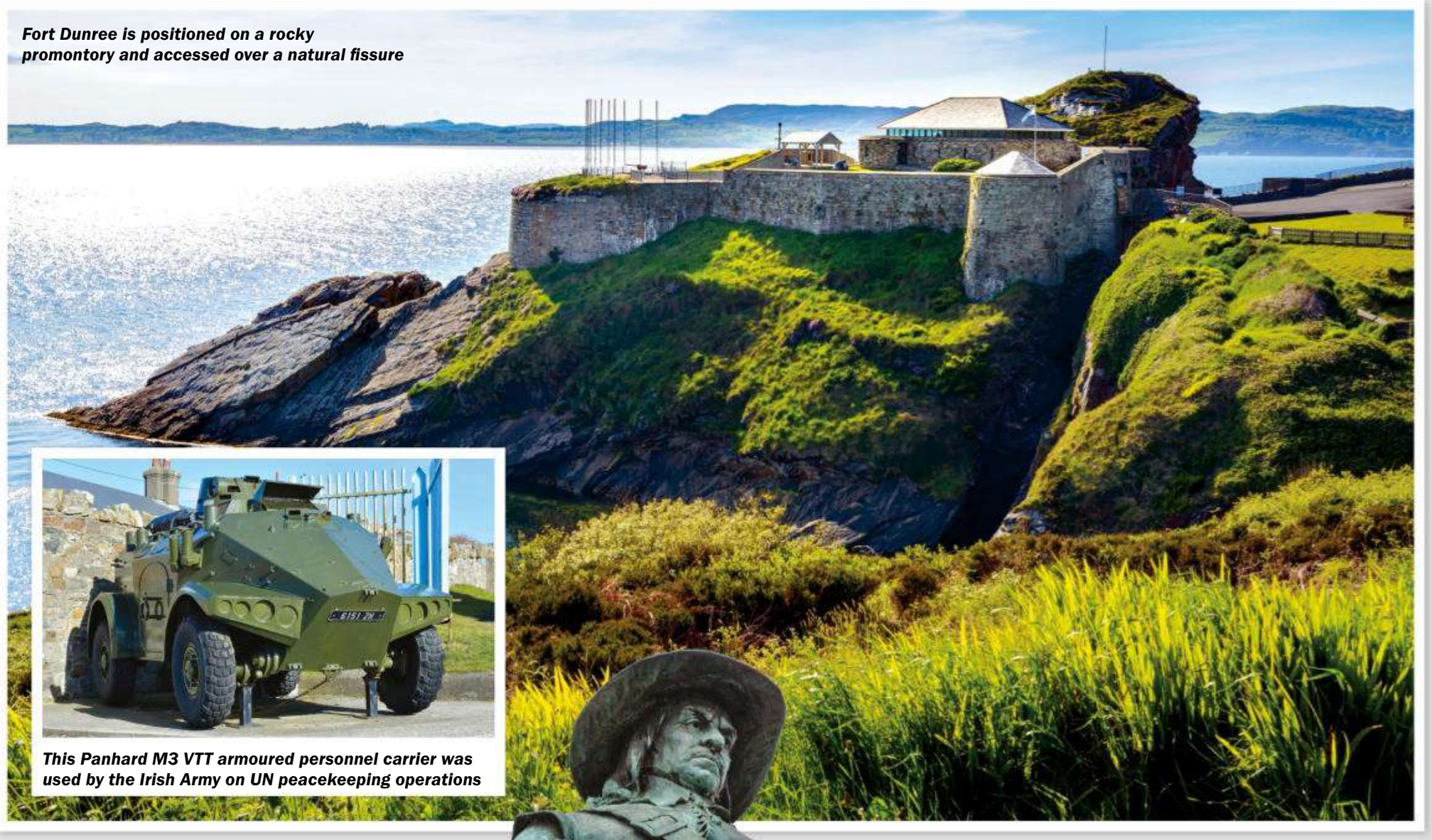
This Napoleonic fortification defended Lough Swilly and garrisoned the last British soldiers in what is now the Republic of Ireland

Known in Irish Gaelic as Dun Fhraoigh (Fort of the Heather) Fort Dunree is a coastal defence fortification on the west side of the Inishowen peninsula in County Donegal, Ireland. It was built by the British in the aftermath of the 1798 Irish Rebellion to guard northwest Ireland in case of a French naval invasion. The fort was modernised in the late 19th century and guarded the British fleet at anchor before the Battle of Jutland during World War I.

Following the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, Dunree became the last fortification to be handed over to the Irish government when the British surrendered it to the Eire Defence Forces on 3 October 1938. This was the last time that sovereignty over any territory was ceded to Ireland.

Dunree was last used by the Irish Army as a training base until it closed in 1990. It is now a military museum set in a stunning area of natural beauty. The fort has detailed exhibitions and restored guns such as BL 6-inch MK VII naval gun. There are displays about local wildlife and coastal vegetation as well as a gift shop, auditorium, café and trail walks. It also the home of the Inishowen Friends of Messines – an organisation dedicated to commemorating those from Donegal who fell during WWI.

For more information visit www.fortdunree.com



Fort Dunree is positioned on a rocky promontory and accessed over a natural fissure

This Panhard M3 VTT armoured personnel carrier was used by the Irish Army on UN peacekeeping operations

Cromwell Museum

Huntingdon was the birthplace of the Parliamentarian soldier-statesman, and his life story is being told in his old school

Located in Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire, the Cromwell Museum explores the life of Oliver Cromwell – Lord Protector of England, regicide of King Charles I and the Parliamentarian military genius of the British Civil Wars. Cromwell was born in Huntingdon and the museum is located in the former grammar school building where he received his early education. The building has medieval origins from its time as an Augustinian hospital and almshouse, although it was heavily restored in the 19th century. It has served as the Cromwell Museum since 1962.

Containing the best collection of artefacts relating to Cromwell in the UK, the museum has over 800 items. This includes his famous "warts and all" painting by Sir Peter Lely, his powder cask for carrying gunpowder, and the hat that he reputedly wore while dissolving the 'Rump' Parliament in 1653. The museum even has a replica of this hat that visitors can try on. Several of his swords are displayed, as well as a medicine chest that he may have taken on campaign. Away from Cromwell himself, there are also original arms and armour from the Civil Wars.

There is a regular programme of temporary exhibitions and events throughout the year, with the museum also offering tours and activities for groups and schools.

A statue of Oliver Cromwell stands in the nearby town of St Ives, 8km east of Huntingdon

For more information visit www.cromwellmuseum.org

All images © Alamy

WWII THIS MONTH...

DECEMBER 1942

To commemorate 80 years since the Second World War, **History of War** will be taking a look at some of the key events taking place during each month of the conflict

A wounded American soldier is assisted down a steep jungle hill on Guadalcanal, 15 January 1943

BATTLE OF GIFU

Otherwise known as the Battle of Mount Austen, Galloping Horse and Sea Horse, this engagement began on 15 December 1942 during the Guadalcanal Campaign. American soldiers and Marines were assisted by Solomon Islanders to attack Japanese defences that were positioned on several hills and ridges. Three prominent hills were called Mount Austen, Galloping Horse and Sea Horse, with the Japanese holding out for reinforcements.

The fights for these Japanese positions lasted until 23 January 1943 and both sides suffered difficulties. Many Americans were untested combat troops who fought in tropical jungle conditions, while the Japanese had critically low supplies. The Americans eventually took Mount Austen, Galloping Horse and Sea Horse, with the Japanese evacuating from Guadalcanal in February 1943.

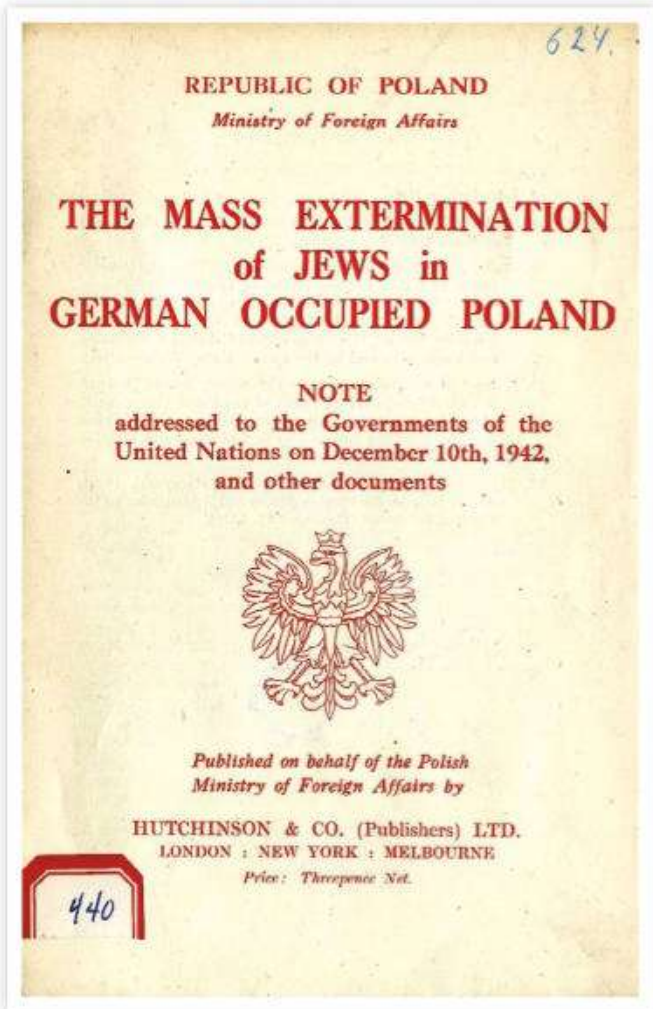
Images © Alamy, Wiki / PD / Gov

ADMIRAL DARLAN ASSASSINATION

François Darlan was an admiral and politician who was commander-in-chief of the French Navy at the beginning of WWII. After the fall of France he was the effective head of the Vichy French government during February 1941 to April 1942 and repeatedly offered Adolf Hitler military help against Britain.

Darlan was the head of the Vichy French armed forces when the Allies invaded French North Africa. He struck a deal with Allied commander Dwight D Eisenhower that made him high commissioner of French Africa. Despite his Nazi collaboration, Darlan quickly joined the Allies but was assassinated at his Algiers headquarters on 24 December 1942. His assassin was a French Resistance member who was arrested and executed by firing squad two days later.

Darlan (centre) pictured with Eisenhower in Algiers, days before he was assassinated


624.

REPUBLIC OF POLAND

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

THE MASS EXTERMINATION of JEWS in GERMAN OCCUPIED POLAND

NOTE
addressed to the Governments of the United Nations on December 10th, 1942, and other documents

Published on behalf of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs by

HUTCHINSON & CO. (Publishers) LTD.
LONDON : NEW YORK : MELBOURNE

Price: Threepence Net.

440

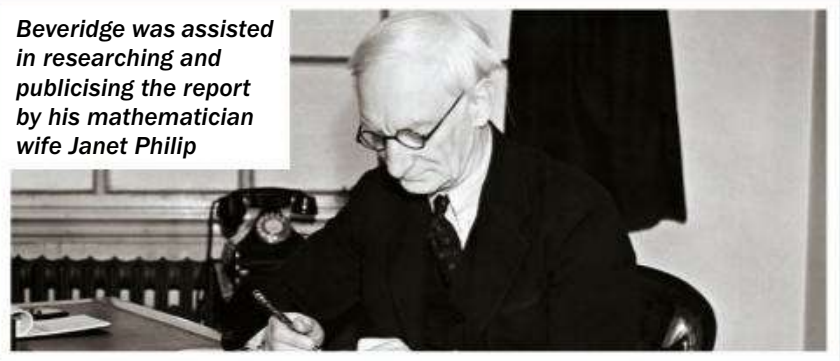
The declaration was published in response to a 16-page note delivered to the Allies by the Polish government-in-exile about Nazi atrocities on 10 December 1942

UN HOLOCAUST JOINT DECLARATION

On 17 December 1942, the British and American governments issued the first formal international statement about the Holocaust on behalf of the Allies. Addressing it to the "Governments of the United Nations", the declaration described the appalling events that were occurring in Nazi-occupied Europe. It was read to the British House of Commons by Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and published in many newspapers.

The shocking text stated that "the German authorities… are now carrying into effect Hitler's oft-repeated intention to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe". The developing UN condemned "in the strongest possible terms this bestial policy of cold-blooded extermination" and resolved to bring the perpetrators to justice. After Eden finished reading, the Members of Parliament stood in silence in an honour usually reserved for the death of a monarch.

Beveridge was assisted in researching and publicising the report by his mathematician wife Janet Philip



BEVERIDGE REPORT PUBLICATION

Drafted by the Liberal economist William Beveridge, the report bearing his name was published by the British Government on 2 December 1942. Highly influential in founding the Welfare State, it was influenced by the impact of World War II on British society. The war had improved working conditions and welfare provisions, from slum clearance after bombing raids to free hospital treatment for war casualties.

Beveridge's report proposed a reformed post-war society that famously addressed the "five giants on the road of reconstruction": Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness. The report was highly popular with the British public because it promised nationwide rewards for their sacrifices. After 1945, it formed the basis of the Labour Government's social reforms, including the establishment of the National Health Service.

German soldiers warm themselves at a campfire in the freezing cold during the Battle of Stalingrad

OPERATION WINTER STORM

During 12-23 December 1942, the Germans launched an offensive to break the Soviet encirclement of the German 6th Army during the Battle of Stalingrad. Field Marshal Erich von Manstein organised a formation called Army Group Don to relieve them.

The German 4th Panzer Army attempted to open a corridor to break the encirclement and initially made some headway before Soviet resistance slowed their advance. On 16 December, the Red Army destroyed the Italian 8th Army in a counteroffensive. Adolf Hitler refused Manstein's request for the 6th Army to attempt a breakout and Winter Storm was called off on 23 December. The Soviets were then able to continue their 'strangulation' of c.300,000 Axis troops in Stalingrad.

REVIEWS

Our pick of the latest military history books

JEWISH SOLDIERS IN THE CIVIL WAR

THE UNION ARMY

THE EXPERIENCES OF JEWISH SOLDIERS IN THE UNION ARMY COME INTO FOCUS IN THIS COMPREHENSIVE BOOK

Author: Adam D Mendelsohn **Publisher:** New York University Press **Price:** £30.96 (Hardback); £28.99 (Kindle)

Adam D Mendelsohn shouldered an immense task when he was enlisted by the Shapell Manuscript Foundation to illuminate the experience of the Jewish soldier in the Union Army during the American Civil War. Of course, there had been some research done in earlier decades, but nevertheless it had been incomplete, at times somewhat inaccurate, and certainly shaped by the lens of history.

Mendelsohn set to the research and writing of *Jewish Soldiers in the Civil War: The Union Army*, the first of two books on the topic of the Jewish experience in the war, with clarity and comprehension of his mission. While the second instalment, a treatment of the Jewish soldiers in the Confederate Army, is forthcoming, the first is an indication of the depth and breadth, energy and inquisitiveness, which the author applied to the project.

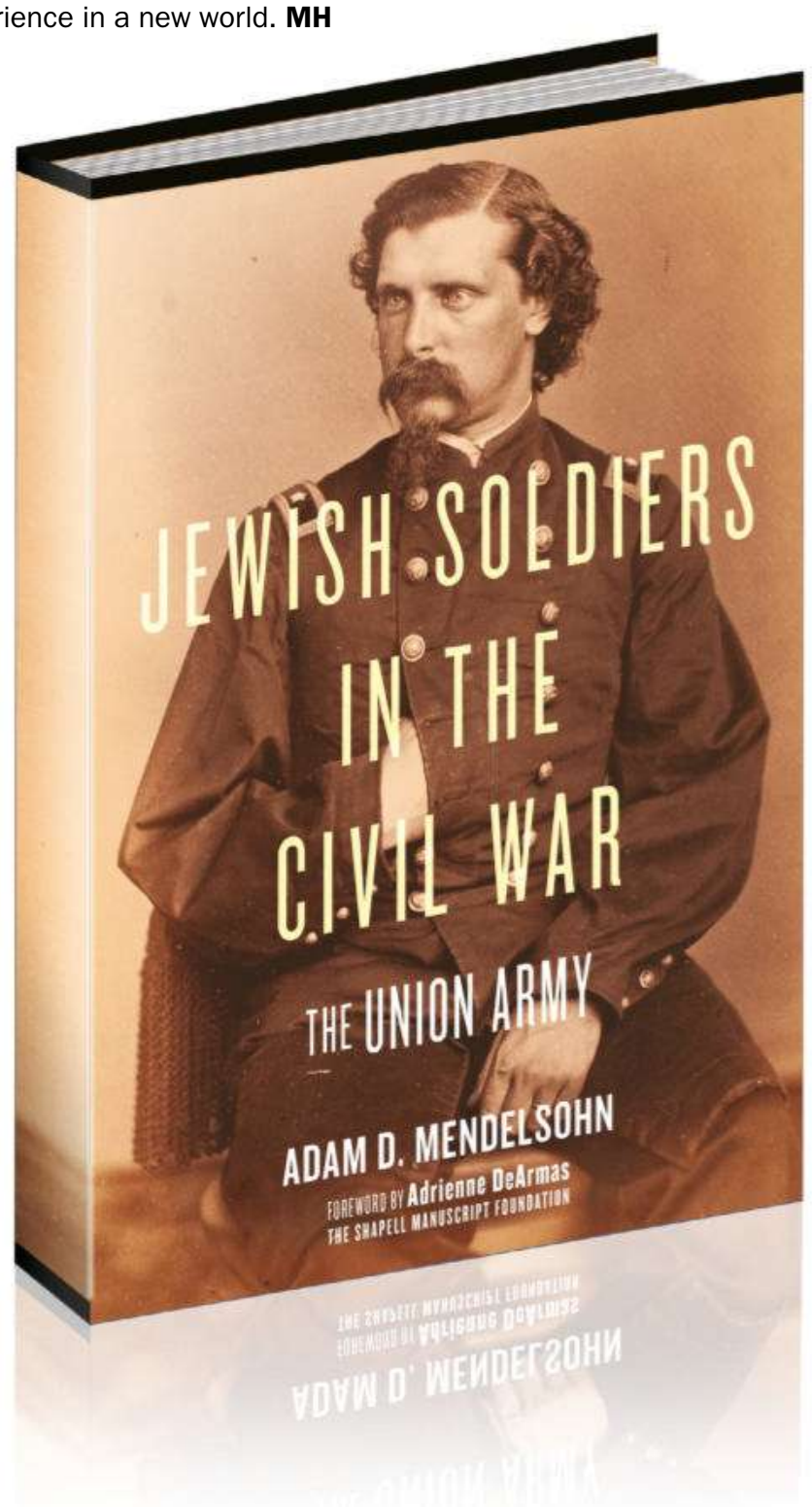
The result is an astonishingly complete treatment of a previously obscured facet of the history of the war that redefined America and its future from 1861-65. Mendelsohn is fair and balanced in his approach, describing the Jewish identity in a young America, the varied backgrounds and motivations that led soldiers to enlist when President Abraham Lincoln issued his first and then subsequent calls to arms to put down the rebellion. He addresses the shadowy myth of Jewish participation in the army – or lack thereof – in contrast to the enlistment rates and numbers among the general population of the North, which was largely an amalgamation of immigrants from many countries. He explores the lure of financial gain via bonuses, monthly pay, food and clothing, as well as the altruistic tug that compelled some men to fight for the preservation of the Union and/or the abolition of slavery.

Interestingly, Mendelsohn, without fear or favour, takes on the very base characteristics of individual men that usually may not be attributed to a certain ‘race’ or ‘ilk’ but invariably are ascribed thusly. He notes that there were those who served nobly and those who skulked, stole and shirked. One Jewish soldier wrote home to his wife in January 1863: “I am sick of the war and I do want to get out… As soon as I can get out honorable I will.” The same soldier, however, later wrote of “whipping these Aristocratic Rebels until they consider they are whipped”.

In such passages, Mendelsohn reveals a human side that is common to all men under arms, a great gamut of emotion shared regardless of religious faith or political leanings. He further delves into the inherent discrimination that has dogged the Jewish people since the proverbial dawn of time, their varied responses, the effect on the course of the war and the future of the nation.

Among the pages of this lengthy, comprehensive, illuminating and sometimes clinical discourse there are surprising nuggets, revelations of hitherto unknown vignettes and explanations of the perspectives of great leaders as they relate to the involvement of Jewish people in the middle of cataclysmic war. Such a critical assessment is long overdue and fills a pronounced void in the history of the American Civil War as well as the Jewish experience in a new world. **MH**

“I AM SICK OF THE WAR AND I DO WANT TO GET OUT… AS SOON AS I CAN GET OUT HONORABLE I WILL”


JEWISH SOLDIERS IN THE CIVIL WAR
THE UNION ARMY
ADAM D. MENDELSOHN
FOREWORD BY Adrienne DeArmas
THE SHAPELL MANUSCRIPT FOUNDATION

CHURCHILL'S AMERICAN ARSENAL

Author: Larrie D Ferreiro
Publisher: Oxford University Press **Price:** £16.99

A METICULOUSLY RESEARCHED CELEBRATION OF THE TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES IN WARFARE BROUGHT ABOUT BY ANGLO-AMERICAN COOPERATION IN WORLD WAR II

Vannevar Bush, head of the USA's Office of Scientific Research and Development, proclaimed: "World War II was the first war in human history to be affected decisively by weapons unknown at the outbreak of hostilities." Larrie D Ferreiro's *Churchill's American Arsenal* explores the men and women behind these inventions – such as radar, tank landing ships, penicillin and, ultimately, nuclear weapons – and how they contributed to an Allied victory.

The structure of the book follows Winston Churchill's iconic 1940 address to the House of Commons: "We shall fight with growing confidence… in the air… on the beaches." Notably, it also endeavours to provide a "history of the middle" by focusing on the countless scientists, engineers and entrepreneurs in the war effort.

Central to the book's appeal is its breadth and detail as Ferreiro explores not only the successes that were needed in order to bring about victory, but also how ideas originated and the many failures along the way. Consequently, Ferreiro manages to capture the scope of the enormous war effort while not losing sight of the human side of the conflict. He also puts these efforts in context, both in the development of science but also with regards to the oft-fractured, undulating 'special' relationship between Great Britain and the United States.

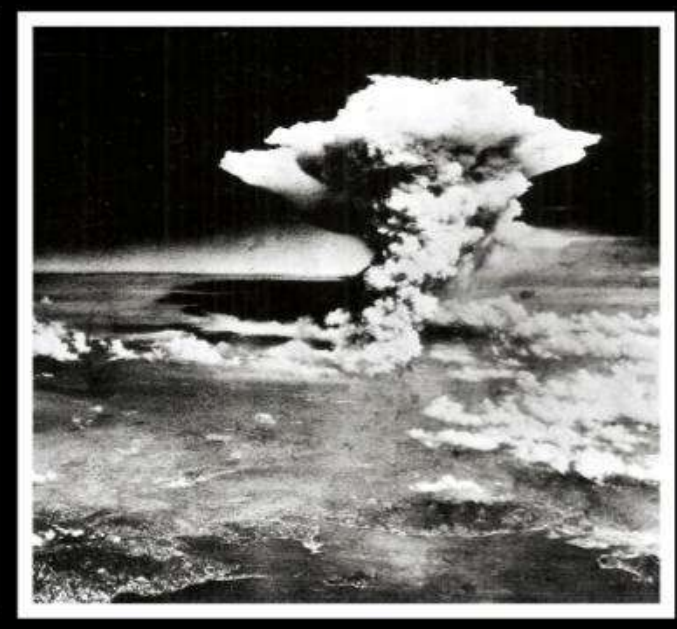
Ferreiro's clear, concise writing style in *Churchill's American Arsenal* is accompanied by a short collection of illustrations and photographs – although arguably a larger selection would have been beneficial.

Exhaustively researched, this reflection on ingenuity, scientific development and transatlantic co-operation is a welcome addition to World War II literature. **JH**

A US Navy officer writing out on a vertical map the indications supplied by a radar

***Below:** Mushroom cloud in the wake of the bombing of Nagasaki, August 1945*

***Below, right:** An aerial photo of Hiroshima, Japan, shortly after the "Little Boy" atomic bomb was dropped*



Images: © Getty

HYBRID WARRIORS

TRACING THE TRAJECTORY OF THE UKRAINE CONFLICT FROM THE BOTTOM UP TO REVEAL THE INNER WORKINGS OF VLADIMIR PUTIN'S KREMLIN

Author: Anna Arutunyan **Publisher:** Hurst **Price:** £20 (Hardback)

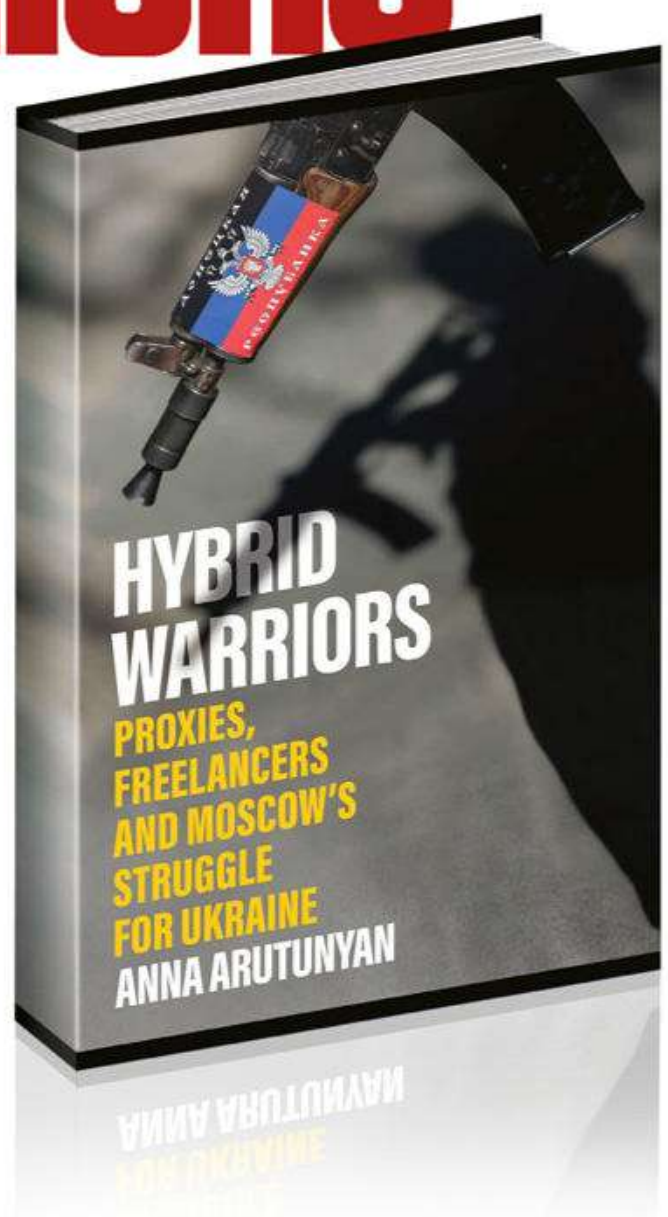
Russian-American journalist Anna Arutunyan, who covered the 2014 war from Crimea and Donetsk, is well-placed to bring to light the intrigues and trickeries of the Putin regime. She has spent more hours than she herself says she "cares to remember" in a room interviewing Putin. As she points out, for more than 20 years the Russian dictator has created the impression that he is vital to the country's survival. The message is that if Putin were to step down or even show the slightest weakness, his successor would make things far worse for the country.

One of the most intriguing questions of Putin's recent years in power is what pushed him over the edge in February 2022 to launch the invasion of Ukraine. The author skilfully examines this issue by tracing the combination of strategic impulses and toxic emotions among the actors involved in this drama, right up to Putin himself.

Arutunyan says that US officials had begun raising the alarm over Ukraine as early as November 2021, but Washington remained "dumbfounded" by the prospect of a Russian attack. The Biden administration had no intention of interfering on Ukraine's behalf, thereby giving Putin carte blanche to launch his invasion.

The author traces the progress of the war, looking at Russia's shifts in focus, the stupefaction of the Kremlin propaganda machine and the disaffection of Putin himself. She argues that the end result is likely to be the last, violent throes of a dying empire that will leave something new in its wake. The post-war rebuilding process, however, may prove harder for Russia than for Ukraine. **JS**

"THE MESSAGE IS THAT IF PUTIN WERE TO STEP DOWN OR EVEN SHOW THE SLIGHTEST WEAKNESS, HIS SUCCESSOR WOULD MAKE THINGS FAR WORSE FOR THE COUNTRY"



NEED TO KNOW

WORLD WAR II AND THE RISE OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE

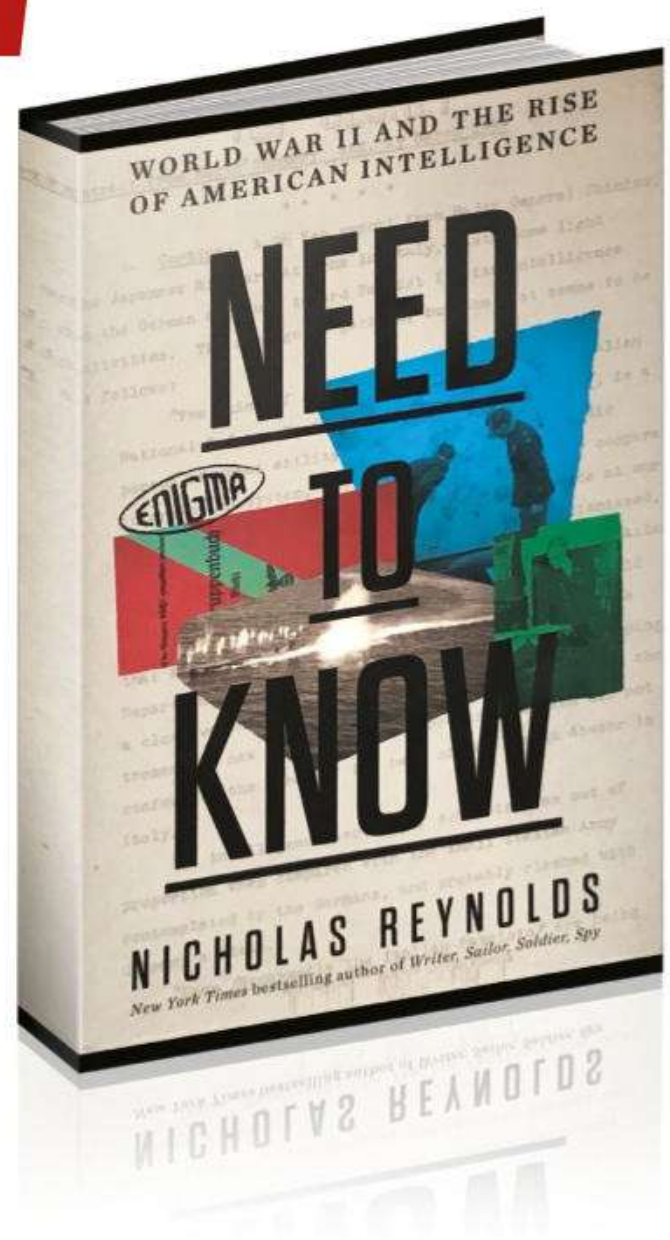
A FASCINATING INSIGHT INTO HOW THE UNITED STATES DEVELOPED ITS CODEBREAKING AND SURVEILLANCE OPERATIONS DURING THE GLOBAL CONFLICT

Author: Nicholas Reynolds **Publisher:** Mariner Books **Price:** £22

In this book's introduction, author Nicholas Reynolds states that this history about the birth of US intelligence is intended to show "the view from 30,000ft rather than from… a foxhole". It's a curious proposition, but as you delve deeper into the narrative you can see why he's chosen to write from this perspective. It's such an intricate story that had he zoomed in any closer on its various elements, he'd have found himself (probably still) writing a multi-volume account.

Not that this book lacks detail. On the contrary, it's a well-researched work that does a fine job of leading you through a labyrinthine subject. Following events chronologically, Reynolds begins with the outbreak of WWII when, hard as it is to imagine, the US had no real military intelligence services. The attack on Pearl Harbor changed that, although initial efforts were discombobulated, to say the least. Various agencies within the army and navy were set up to tackle codebreaking and surveillance but there was little cooperation between them. Learning from their British allies, however, US defence chiefs soon saw the value of a coordinating agency. The Office of Strategic Service – the famed OSS and forerunner to the CIA – was born and the rest, as they say, is history.

As the overview it's intended to be, *Need to Know* is a success. By focusing on the strategies as well as the often exceptional individuals responsible for creating US Intelligence, Reynolds has delivered a highly readable account of a fascinating and complex history. **NS**


WORLD WAR II AND THE RISE OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE
NEED TO KNOW
ENIGMA
NICHOLAS REYNOLDS
New York Times bestselling author of Writer, Sailor, Soldier, Spy

The 'Eternal King of Norway' battled to bring the country under his rule and banish the old Norse gods

THE GREATEST VIKING

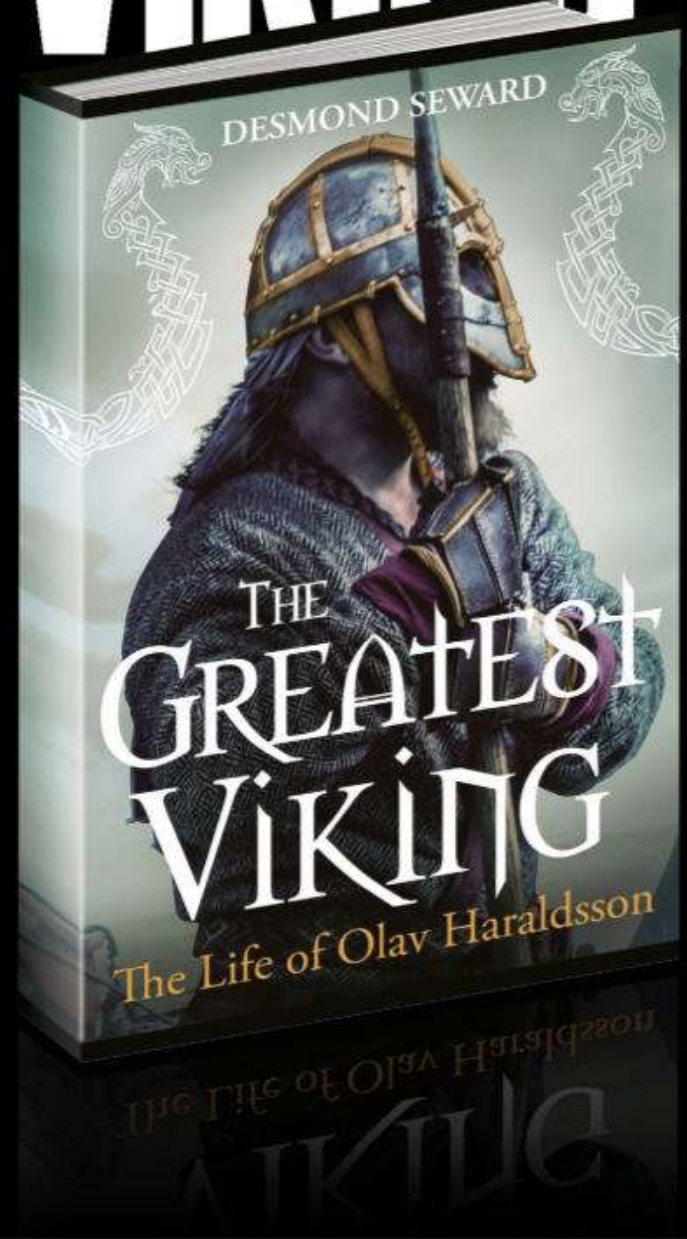
THE LIFE OF OLAV HARALDSSON

A FINE FINAL BOOK FROM ONE OF OUR MOST DISTINGUISHED POPULAR HISTORIANS

Author: Desmond Seward **Publisher:** Birlinn **Price:** £22

Desmond Seward, who died on 3 April 2022, was one of Britain's most accomplished popular historians, his many books displaying a mixture of vigorous storytelling and close attention to primary and secondary sources. His final book, published posthumously, shows that he suffered no decline in his gifts in his final years. *The Greatest Viking* takes the life of King Olav Haraldsson and brings the man and his times to life. In this, Seward was helped by Olav's life being, like that of so many of the great Vikings, a tale of outrageous adventure, of reversals and victories, daring escapes and unlikely returns. Indeed, it's the sort of life that if Seward had been writing a novel, he would have had to tone it down to make it more believable.

Olav, in life and even more in his death, became a symbol of Norwegian national identity, so much so that we was given – and still holds – the title of Rex Perpetuus Norvegiae, the Eternal King of Norway. Olav, a descendant of Harald Fairhair, the first man to unite Norway, saw it as his destiny to bring the country under his rule. Following his conversion to Christianity, he widened his mission to include banishing the old Norse gods. Seward is particularly insightful in explaining the savagery with which Olav went about suppressing the old pagan religion, neither excusing Olav's fierceness nor downplaying the depravity attached to worshipping the old gods. Although we have lost an outstanding historian, *The Greatest Viking* is an excellent valediction of a lifetime's work bringing the past to life for new generations. **EA**



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HISTORY OF WAR

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RQ-2A 159

Left: *RQ-2A 159 has a camera surveillance package mounted inside a spherical turret in the middle of the UAV's fuselage*

This unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) made history during the Gulf War when it became the first robot to be surrendered to by humans in combat

Manufactured by the American company Pioneer UAV Inc, the RQ-2A provides field commanders with real-time reconnaissance, surveillance, target acquisition and battle damage information. It is controlled by ground control pilots and has a 185km (115-mile) range. Its deliberately small size and selected materials makes this UAV difficult to detect visually or by radar. RQ-2As were used by the US Armed Forces during 1986-2007 as well as by Israel, Singapore and Sri Lanka.

The most famous event involving an RQ-2A occurred in 1991 during the Gulf War. This pictured UAV (designated Air Vehicle No. 159) operated from USS Wisconsin and was conducting a battle damage assessment after USS Missouri shelled Iraqi troops on Failaka Island. When 159 flew low over the island, some of the Iraqi soldiers concluded that the Missouri was probably going to fire more shells. They waved white flags at 159 as it flew overhead, which prompted US Marines to land on Failaka and take them prisoner. This incident was the first time that human beings had surrendered to a robot in combat.

Approximately 40 Pioneer UAVs were flown by US Armed Forces on more than 300 missions during the Gulf War. Twelve were destroyed and a further 15 were damaged but their high loss rate was compensated by the fact that they saved many lives by not exposing personnel to enemy fire. RQ-2As went on to be used in many American military operations in Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia and Kosovo. The famous 159 was donated to the National Air and Space Museum in 2000.

"THE IRAQI SOLDIERS CONCLUDED THAT THE MISSOURI WAS PROBABLY GOING TO FIRE MORE SHELLS. THEY WAVED WHITE FLAGS AT 159 AS IT FLEW OVERHEAD"

NATIONAL AIR AND SPACE MUSEUM

RQ-2A 159 forms part of the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum in Washington DC

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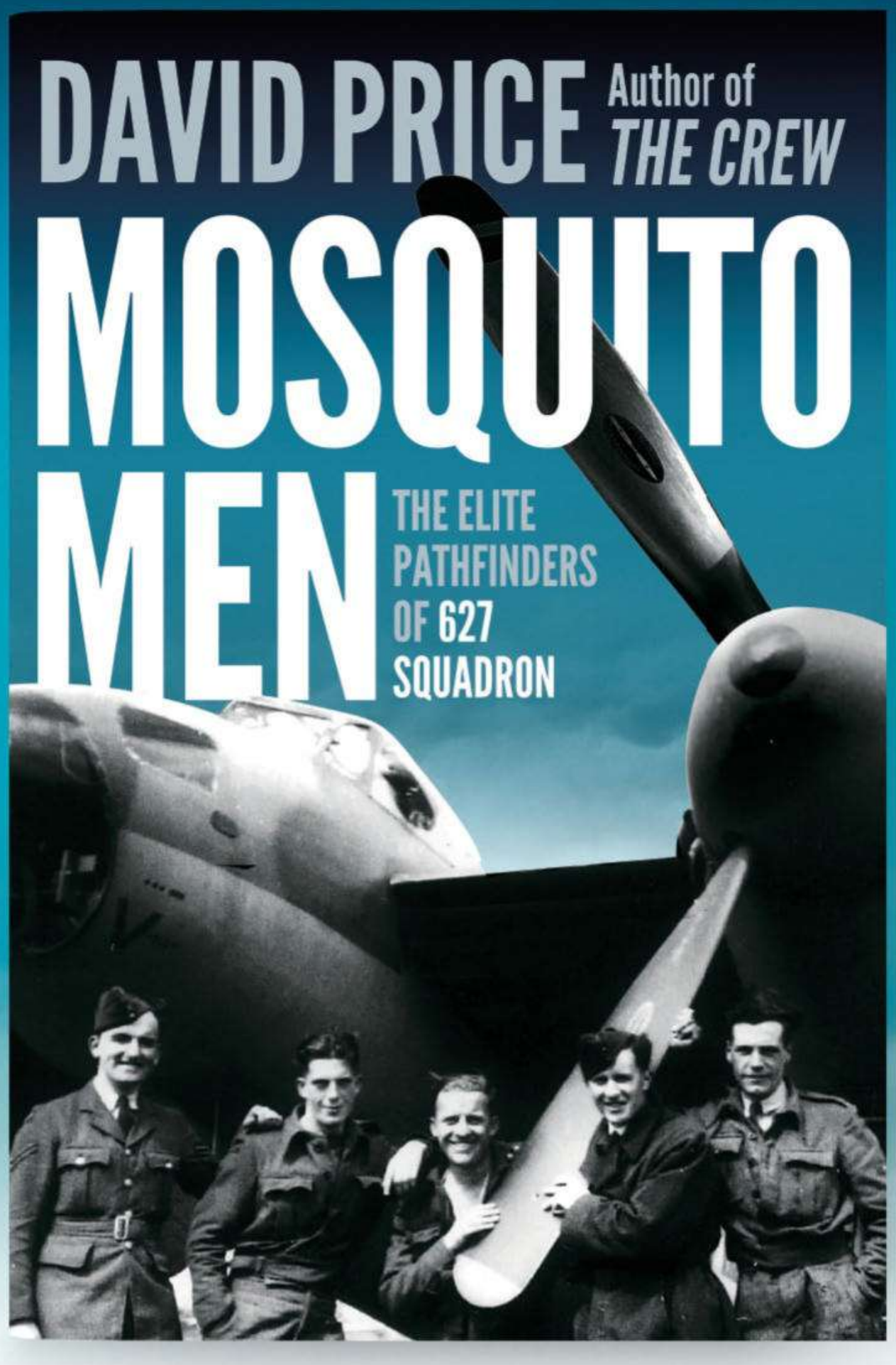

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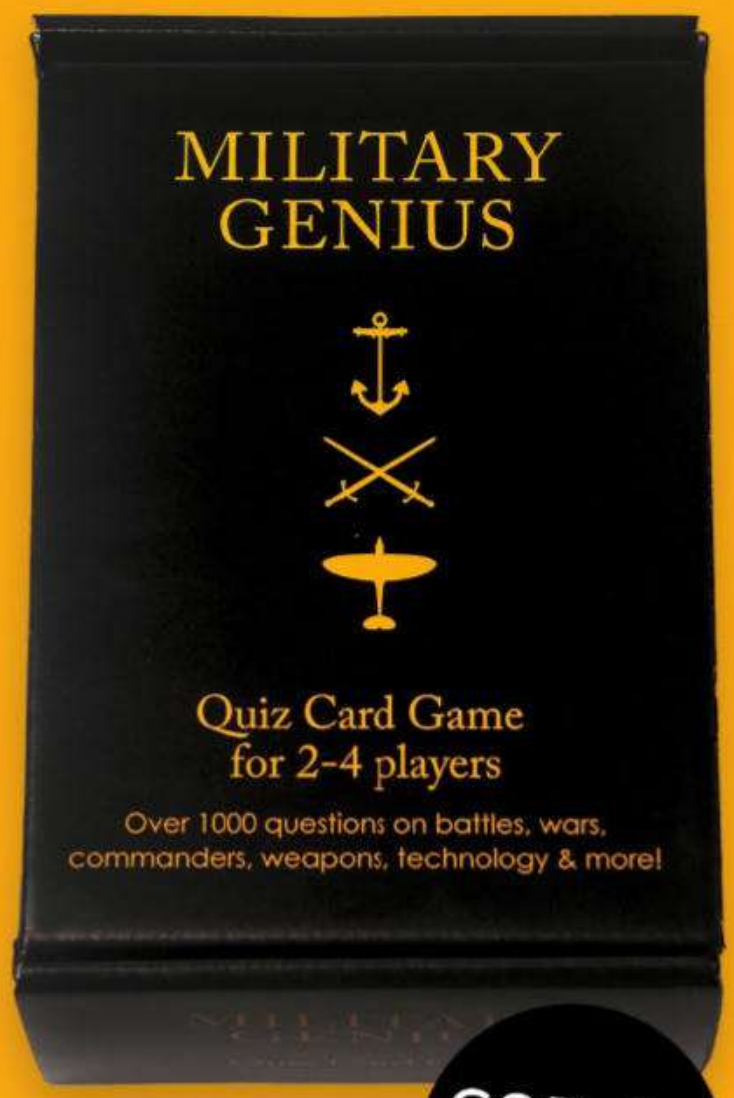

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Q. Which historic Russian Marshal once said, "the bullet is a fool; the bayonet is a fine fellow"?
A. Marshal Alexander Suvorov, 1730-1800. He fought six wars, served two Tsars and was recalled to the Army aged 68. He never lost a battle as a Commander.
Q. Which Middle Eastern conflict erupted on 6th October 1973?
A. The Yom Kippur War. Egyptian and Syrian Forces (later with Iraqi and Jordanian reinforcements) invaded Israel but were repulsed decisively.
Q. When did National Service end in Britain?
A. 1960.
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